/295/ Preface

114 121 In the chapters to follow, I propose to publish part of the results obtained in the course of the expedition that I undertook in the Bolivian and Argentinian Chaco in my capacity as director of the Institute of Ethnology of the University of Tucumán.

114 [101] This expedition took place from February to June, 1929. Its itinerary was the following: Having left Tucumán, I went by railroad to La Quiaca where I stayed for several days, making observations on the more or less half-breed natives of the region. From La Quiaca I went to Tarija, where I remained longer than I might have wished because of the suspicions my trip raised at the time of the Paraguayan-Bolivian conflict.

114 101 103 After a 15-day stop I left Tarija to reach the Chiriguano tolderías of the upper Pilcomayo. I crossed the village of Santa Ana, then the Abra del Cóndor, the Narvaez River, the post of San Diego, passed five kilometers from San Luis (Entre-Ríos) to stop at the Cuesta de San Simon, where I found the first Chiriguano. Once having crossed the Cuesta de San Simón I quickly reached the Salado River, then the Chiriguano villages of Timboy (Saladito). It was there that I made my best acquisitions of [126] pottery and where I collected the oldest objects. The inhabitants [178] of these rancherías, who live relatively far from the highway from Argentina to Santa Cruz, have preserved the traditions and culture of their ancestors better than their racial brothers have. From Saladito I reached the village of Itasiti and then Salado Grande, [361] in order /296/ to reach the Pilcomayo at the confluence with the Salado. There, the Chiriguano villages are large and numerous. The most interesting are those of Ñawirenda, Ibopeytí, and Yumbía.

After stopping for some time in this place, I continued my trip toward Huacaya and the mission of San Pascual de Boicovo.

In one day I went from Boicovo to Cuevo, going by way of the mission of Santa Rosa.

[197] [198] From Cuevo on I was in the mission of Ivu, which is without doubt the one where the old Chiriguano customs have undergone the fewest modifications.

/299/

First Part

Material Culture

To Eva who was my traveling companion.

Introduction

121

For anyone who wants to verify experimentally, if I may say so, the value of the methods which are being adopted in modern ethnography, for anyone who wishes to judge the factors which condition the formation and evolution of civilizations, there is no better field than the study of the Chiriguano Indians.

We know where they came from, the period when they formed a new nation, the populations with which they mingled or were in contact, the influences they underwent and their duration, and finally we are acquainted with the vicissitudes of their history; in a word, we can be present at the formation and development of this people from their origin to their present decline, an experience unique in South America, rare perhaps elsewhere, and in any case rich in instruction.

Adaptation to the environment, borrowing of new cultural elements, abandonment of traditions and techniques, somatic and linguistic changes, so many problems that the Chiriguano civilization poses and that the historical documents and the collections permit solving or at least clarifying.

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Chiriguano culture is composed of elements of different origins, borrowed from tribes which had only a little in common with one another. It involves an old Guarani substratum, transformed and entirely renewed by the contribution of the Arawak culture of the Chané, which itself had been enriched and modified by the influence of the Andean populations of present-day southern Bolivia. A common environment and long proximity allowed many a technique and industry of the primitive Indians of the Chaco to be adopted and assimilated by the Chiriguano. The importance of this third component is minimal.

/299 cont./

177 An analysis of Chiriguano culture (see Nordenskiöld, 10,
178 pp. 196-213) makes manifest the heterogeneity which the history of the tribe caused to be suspected a priori. The pottery, basketry, weapons, and furniture almost constantly present disparate characteristics in which are expressed this play of influences, this intermixture of races and ideas of which the present-day culture of the Chiriguano is the product.

/300/ The ethnographer feels all the more at ease in his analysis when at every step history confirms or invalidates the findings to which his comparative work leads him. Thus he walks on firm ground, and the results he has acquired in this particular domain will justify his method when he uses it to solve problems whose data are less complete.

181 The Chiriguano, in more than one respect, deserve to hold a preponderant place in the ethnography of South America. They have played an important role in the history of Bolivia, Paraguay, and Argentina; their civilization has been brilliant and has maintained itself intact almost until our time; besides, they are remarkably endowed from the point of view of character and intelligence. To these qualifications they add that of having built up their civilization, so to say, before our very eyes and of offering to science a field where it moves with some sureness.

In order to understand the point of view I have tried to put forward in this introduction, it is indispensable to know, in its main lines, the early history of these Indians.

Chapter I

000 Historical Outline of the Formation of the Chiriguano Nation

/Eight lines of poetry in Spanish, from Barco Centenera, La Argentina, pp. 185-186, are omitted in the translation./

121 My intention is not to recount the history of the Chiriguano
175 from the 16th century to today insofar as we can know it from official documents and chronicles. This work has been done and generally well done (Corrado; Kersten, pp. 66-69; Serrano y Sanz; Nordenskiöld, 7 and 8, pp. 45-58; Gandía, 2, pp. 25-56 and 1, 3, pp. 161-196; Church, pp. 206-227; Mujía; etc.).

Ce 178 439 323 [177] /331 cont./

The pernicious and corruptive influence of the white men, which makes so many ravages among the poor Chané, has at least spared their pottery industry. They still manufacture considerable quantities of vessels which they sell to the other Indians and to the whites. As clever business men they complied with the taste of their new clients, and the motifs with which they decorate the pieces they export are as hideous and gaudy as the ones which ornament half-breed or creole textile fabrics or baskets.

C G 177 178 342 596

Moreover, we can understand historically certain phases of the transformation of the culture of the Guarani when they mixed with the Chané. The ancient Guarani used to live in the large house or maloca, that is, in gigantic huts sheltering several families. Having emigrated to the foot of the Andes, they kept until well into the 17th century a type of habitation which corresponded to a particular social organization (the large maternal and undivided family). In the 18th century we

G 177 178 266

see them living in huts similar to the ones they still have today, intended to house only one family. In the same way one can witness the disappearance of cannibalism, which in the 18th century is no more than a memory among the Chiriguano. Certain traces of it have survived up to our day.

C 17

Thus these pages justify the assertions of the preface. With the Chiriguano we are dealing with a nation of recent formation whose civilization is a composite of Guarani, Arawak, and especially Andean elements. The geographic area inhabited by the Chiriguano can be divided into as many diverse zones of acculturation as America has. It has brought about, not the joining of three cultures, but their fusion.

Résumé

C 105 175

The Chiriguano belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family.

C [167]

They emigrated from Paraguay to the foot of the Andes in the last quarter of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th.

/332 cont./ Permanent?

villages were there under the command of hereditary caciques. The middle course of the Parapití formed their boundary to the east. In the 18th century the Chiriguano constituted the most important and remarkable nation of the western Chaco. The statistics concerning them vary a great deal: the figures, given with their usual exaggerations, vary between 41,000 and 15,000 warriors. The Chané are included in this number, which completely removes all value from these statistics." (Kersten, pp. 68-69.)

Today the boundaries of the Chiriguano have stayed about the same. But even though they inhabit a territory whose extent has varied little, their situation has none the less undergone great changes. Several thousand half-breeds from Tarija, Santa Cruz, and Chuquisaca have settled inside this area that we have defined. A Chiriguano frontier no longer exists, but only remains of villages and small groups which still mark the former extent of the tribe. On the other hand, the number of Chiriguano has diminished terribly and is diminishing each day, so that a few years from now the true habitat /333/ of the Chiriguano will be contained between the Parapiti and the Pilcomayo and will be reduced to the former Franciscan missions and to several valleys of the Precordillera, such as those of Caipipendí and Igüembé (1).

1. Some historians not well informed about the ethnic geography of South America have claimed that in the 16th century the Chiriguano lived well beyond the boundaries I have indicated. One of them (Dr. Fulgencio Moreno) went so far in this direction that he attributes to the Chiriguano the possession of a large part of northwestern Argentina and pushes this fancy to the point of locating them almost as far as in the province of Córdoba. Mr. Coni in an excellent monograph, documents in hand, has done good justice to these bold allegations and has demonstrated that these hypotheses were without foundation.

/338 cont./

243 476 ●178 The sad state of decline in which the Chiriguano are at present has put an end to collective work, and it is only rarely that sowing is done in common. Each one must provide for his needs without any assistance other than that of his near relatives.

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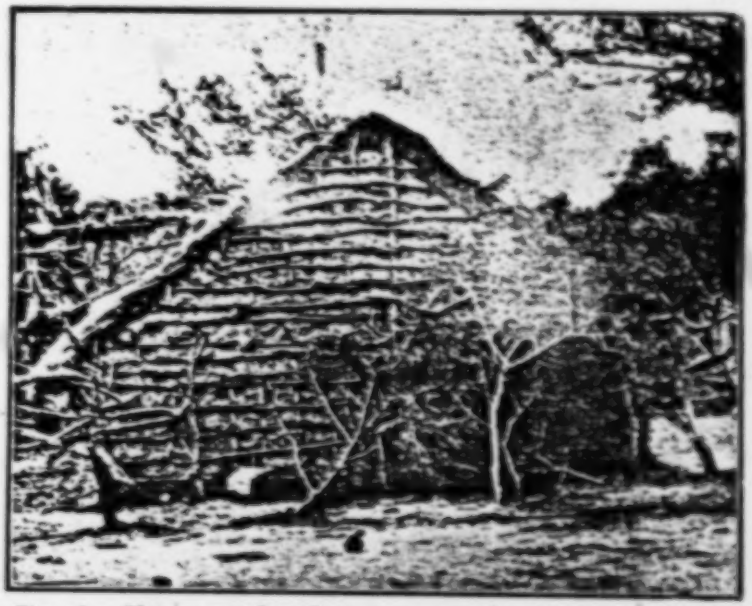

Fig. 6. Chiriguano hut (ho), temporarily abandoned by its inhabitants, who have gone to work in the fields. Caipipendí. (Photo. A. M.)

241

The Chiriguano cultivate the following plants:
Corn (avati): 11 varieties;
Beans (kumanda): 11 varieties;
Squash (andai and grindaka-wasu): 5 varieties;
Sweet potatoes (yeti): 6 varieties;
Yucca or sweet manioc (mandio) (Manihot utilisima Pohl);
Groundnuts (manduví);
Pimento /peppers/ (kĩi) (Capsicum), very rarely cultivated;

/338 cont./

241 Sorghum (triku) (Sorghum sacchariferum) (1):

[262] 1. Sorghum is cultivated only on a very small scale. It is a delicacy that the Chiriguano reserve for children, who suck its stalk.

/339/ Sugar cane:
Melons:
Watermelons (sandías):
Prickly pear (saini) (Opuntia spec.):
Fig trees:
Orange trees (in the missions).

[199] The Chiriguano cultivate only on a very small scale the plants which, like sorghum, sugar cane, fig trees, and orange trees, have been introduced by the Europeans. Of these only melons enjoy general favor.

248 They always devote some parts of their fields to the cultivation of plants of value only for their arts and manufactures. These are: cotton plants (mandiyú), cucurbitaceous plants (iá) which grow on the ground next to their squash and furnish the containers they need, roucou (urukú), which scarcely exists except in the northern part of their habitat, and finally a species of reed (Arundo donax) with which they make the shafts of their arrows.

249 They also plant tobacco (pëtï), but I have never seen any in their fields. According to Nordenskiöld (10, p. 25), its [276] cultivation is insignificant and rare. The Chiriguano are not [123] great smokers, and the numerous packs of cigarettes I took along for them found only a few devotees. Among the Toba, Matako /Mataco/, or Chorotí /Choroti/ my stocks would have been exhausted in the wink of an eye, for these Indians love tobacco more than anything in the world.

276 The use of tobacco among the ancient Chiriguano, as among 756 their ancestors in Paraguay or Brazil, was reserved for the 824 medicine men for their magical operations. Their use made [198] of it a plant endowed with "mystical" virtues, and its

/342 cont./

243 462 [482] Wives accompany their husbands to the fields. They spend the day there spinning, sewing, grilling ears of corn, or roasting manioc. In the evening, if they return to the village, the wife comes back bent under the weight of her ajapoka, or carrying-net, full of ears of corn. Sometimes the men help [492] them. Those who have donkeys and horses use them as beasts of burden.

482 Transport of corn is done generally with the help of the carrying-net, but makeshifts let them do without it in case of necessity. The ears of corn are held together in bundles by means of leaves which encompass them and are suspended from a flexible switch bent in the shape of a figure eight. When the two loops are balanced, one can raise them by grasping them by the middle.

251 In the village the ears are either stored in granaries on piles, to which steps cut in a tree trunk (Fig. 8) lead, or kept in the hut where a special corner has been made into a compartment. A tree trunk tipped with a natural fork may serve /Plate VII appears here/ /343/ as a storage place for corn. The ears, tied into bundles, are piled between the two branches of the fork (Fig. 10).

243 789 Formerly, before their dreadful decline began, the Chiriguano had recourse to magical ceremonies to hasten the ripening of corn and to avoid drought or too great an abundance of rain. /Fig. 9 appears here./

When the sun threatened to burn the harvest, they had one or several medicine men come who were charged with bringing the recalcitrant clouds. Provided with a cigar, they went around the fields blowing the smoke in every direction (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 167). The symbolism of this rite of homeopathic magic is clear: the smoke represents the clouds which the ipaye is to gather.

[512] [178] The game of mbaré represents the survival of a magical ceremony having to do with the growth of corn and its watering.

[Text Continues, on P 78]

In the Chiriguano missions or in the villages of the Cotapaventí valley one finds on the large village plaza /Fig. 10 appears here/ an abundance of onion-like objects made of leaves of corn folded together (Fig. 11). Children throw them to each other with the flat of the hand and try to catch them again before they fall to the ground. A hurried traveler would see in this

Fig. 9. Corn crib on piles (*avatiñi*). Ivo. (Photo. A. M.)

game only an Indian form of our court tennis or a rudimentary tennis. Actually, this is certainly the present significance of this amusement. In olden days the meaning was not the same, as I learned in the Machareti mission. Only a few years ago *mbonó* was played only at the time when the corn was beginning to ripen. The children formed a circle and threw this kind of shuttlecock to one another. If by chance one of them let it fall through inadvertence or awkwardness, he left the place

/344 cont./

immediately, chased by his comrades who pulled his hair energetically. The awkward player who threw the ball in such a way that his partner could not catch it was in the same category as the one who let it fall, on condition, however, that his opposite number had not made the gesture of catching it. Once the corn was ripe, they stopped playing mbotó.

Fig. 10. Forked tree on which the Chiriguano pile corn inside their huts. This device may have given rise to the corncribs on piles.

The game of mbotó has a wide distribution in South America, but it is limited to the populations of the Amazonian basin and the Guianas. Doubtless the Chiriguano introduced it into the Chaco (Nordenskiöld. 9, p. 168).

This game without any doubt derives from a magical rite whose object was to promote the beneficial course of the sun and to oblige it to shine without interruption to make the corn ripen. The straw shuttlecock represents the sun. The period when this game is played and the meaning the Chiriguano attach to it make my hypothesis a very likely one. Preuss demonstrated that in all of Central America and even in North America the /345/ tennis game arose out of a magical operation intended to influence the sun.

Fig. 11. Straw shuttlecock (mbotó), accessory for the game of the same name. Prov.: Cararutí. (1/3 nat. size.)

/345 cont./

241 115 The Chiriguano are proud of the extent of their fields. "Captain" Karnapadyú made me walk over all of his, emphasizing its size and the abundance of its produce. Another Chiriguano, after taking me along across all of his plantations, without sparing me one plot of ground, told me as he was bringing me back, with an air at the same time proud and questioning: "Guapo yo" /I am enterprising/. I answered that he was indeed very "guapo." He seemed flattered and happy.

243 593 583 606 The father clears his daughter's field, which represents for her a kind of dowry. The son-in-law must then take care of it, do the sowing and reap the harvest (1). My guide Cipriano

[585] 1. Corrado (p. 155) states that young married couples live at the expense of their parents and that they do not cultivate any chacras nor build a house before having a child.

complained bitterly about his son-in-law, whose laziness had obliged him to harvest his daughter's corn himself.

Chapter III

Cooking and Food

Food Resources

433 224 178 I have eaten meat only very rarely in Chiriguano villages, and I have never had a chance to taste a piece of game. It is not that this latter has disappeared from the region, exterminated by man, but the Chiriguano do not take the trouble to pursue it. In former days they were enthusiastic hunters, like nearly all the Indians of tropical America. When they were expecting guests for a drinking feast, the men went out into the bush and during 15 to 20 days got a good supply of the flesh of the peccary, deer, nandu, pigeon, armadillo, [251] chuña /a wading bird/, and even parrot. To preserve it they dried it in the sun without salt (Nino, pp. 249-258).

/345 cont./

433 224 198 Outside these official expeditions they doubtless used to hunt for pleasure or simply to interrupt the monotony of their menu.

224 411 [223] Quadrupeds were killed with arrows with lanceolate tips, originally of wood, today of iron (Plates VIII and IX, 2); small game, with arrows tipped with a barbed wooden rod (Plate IX, 3-5). Birds were taken in traps or felled with a special arrow having a splayed ferrule (Plates X-XI).

224 [231] Anyone who has seen the little dogs of the Chiriguano Indians, with elongated /346/ muzzle, pointed ears, short hair, and arched tail will ask with surprise how animals so miserable, stupid, and snappish could have been trained to render service to man. Nevertheless, such seems to have been the case. For hunting the peccary, for example, the Indians employ the dogs, who track them and /Figs. 12 and 13 appear here/ force them to hide in their dens, from which they are smoked out and felled with blows of a stick when they try to run away. At least this is how the inhabitants of the village of Saladito (upper Pilcomayo) told me they had killed a peccary which they showed me at the time I was there.

433 224 184 [352] [412] For the modern Chiriguano, hunting has lost its reason for existing as an activity having an economic character, except perhaps /Plates VIII, IX, X, and XI appear here/ /347/ /Fig. 14 appears here/ for those of this nation who live in the region of the upper Pilcomayo. At least this is the impression I had after examining their huts: the bedsteads or wooden cots were often covered with peccary skins and the old deerhorn awls (Fig. 12) numerous enough to be able to be exchanged for a trifle. The relative abundance of these objects proves that among these Indians hunting has not been relegated /Fig. 15 appears here/ to the rank of a simple sport and that it keeps, at least in part, its past importance. [799] [411] The contrast is striking if one then goes into the zone of the Franciscan missions: there, more peccary skins, more perforators made of deerhorn, more ostrich feathers. In the villages of the upper Pilcomayo there is no cabin, poor as it may be, in which a bow and a bundle of arrows are not slipped

[TEXT Continues on P. 89]

/348 cont./

287 439 [484] [435] half-breed villages. For the meager profits which this trade brings them they undertake long trips and even go as far as Sucre, where they are paid two to three pesos for each feather duster.

224 178 231 433 Hunting lost its importance from the day when the Chiriguano began to have cattle. Already about 20 years ago, those who /Plate XII appears here/ /349/ had several sheep, goats, cows, or even chickens did not take the trouble to accompany their comrades into the bush in search of game. What is the use of tiring oneself out running after peccaries for long days and risking getting oneself disemboweled or coming back empty-handed if just by staying home one can treat one's guests with some roast of meat or chicken broth?

231 435 [464] [465] The price of cattle has gone down a good deal these last years, and the Indians no longer need to go to the sugar mills of Argentina in order to come back with a cow or two in recompense for four to five months of hard work. Goats, sheep, and pigs are valued at two to four pesos apiece and it is often even a question of "prices for foreigners." A cow currently costs from 25 to 30 pesos, and an economical Indian has the means to acquire several during his life. Little by little, in each village modest herds have been formed, which the Indians care for like treasures. They husband them carefully, like all primitive peoples who raise cattle. They almost never kill their cow, and they sacrifice only rarely a goat or a sheep to their gluttony (1). In showing themselves to be so economical

471 231 [435]

[262] [178]

1. In former times they used to feel an unconquerable repugnance toward pork, which is dissipating nowadays (Nino, p. 252).

they are not obeying any superstition but simply are afraid to 556 *diminish their capital. The wealth of an Indian is gauged by* the number of his cows: and, in their Spanish jargon, "vacudo" /vaca, "cow"/ is a synonym for rich (2). Some of them have a

2. An Indian of Ñawirenda had as many as 40 head of cattle.

[Text continues on p. 93]

/349 cont./

556 tendency to estimate the value of objects in cows. For example,
[435] a loom with a nearly finished poncho was offered to me "for
[437] a cow," and the owner of the loom could not understand that it was difficult for me to convert the exchange into money.

262 Charqui, or meat dried in the sun, most often replaces
[251] fresh meat in the menus of our Indians. It is not a question of preference, but of necessity. Charqui is cheap and is bought in any estancia.

Fishing

221 When I went through the Chiriguano villages of the upper
226 Pilcomayo and the Parapití, the rivers were in flood, the corn was ripening in the fields, and no Indian wanted to let the parrots eat his corn in order to go to catch fish at the risk of getting himself carried off by the current. If I had come back to these same villages in July or August, the scene would have been completely different. The rivers would have been only thin trickles of water, and in every direction I should have perceived men /350/ and women busy fishing. The fishing season would have been at its height.

• [178] The Chiriguano, having come from a country rich in watercourses, have in this respect preserved the traditions of their ancestors of the Paraná or the Paraguay.

226 Some, equipped with large landing nets (Fig. 18), form barriers against the current and advance, gathering the fish as if
[227] with a spoon. Then they grab them and attach them to their
[482] belts, after /Fig. 18 appears here/ threading them on a cord by means of a wooden needle (Fig. 19). Others lie in wait for a fish in the water and, as it goes by, impale it with an arrow equipped with several points (Fig. 20) or simply with two long, barbed wooden rods. Some, with the help of stone barriers, *try to make the fish converge toward the opening of a wicker* trap (1). Sometimes a group of individuals turn aside a

1. Compare Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 260): "in summer (the Chiriguano) divert a stretch of the river; they leave the fish in the drained

/357 cont./

252 covered with the bran. The muitero is then placed on the opening of a pot full of water and the whole put on the fire. The rising steam goes through the holes of the muitero and cooks the corn while saturating it with moisture. So that the steam will not escape at the sides, the line of contact between the edges of the muitero and the neck of the vessel is smeared with clay.

I have given the recipe for this dish according to Nino (p. 246), for I have never been present at its preparation. The Chiriguano themselves must have forgotten it: I do not remember having seen more than two muitero during my whole trip: one at Yumbía and the other at Ivu. Since it is im- • [198] possible to prepare muintimimo without this basin, one must suppose that the Chiriguano of the decline have forgotten even the taste of one of the most original dishes of their cuisine.

At Ivu the Chiriguano had me taste kĭwi-rai (little kĭwi), a kind of gruel made with kernels of corn softened by a more or less long soaking in water, then pounded and rid of the bran. This gruel is cooked in water and eaten cold. It is [273] sometimes left to ferment for several days and from that has doubtless come its name of "little corn beer."

The Indians make flat corn cakes (muyape) (2), which are

2. The corn fritters that I saw roasted in a frying pan at Pípi were doubtless muyape cakes. Unfortunately, I was not able to learn their name.

mentioned in the myths I have collected, but which I myself have never had a chance to taste. Avatindi, or white corn, is softened in water, pounded, then kneaded with salt and pimento and the dough shaped into flat cakes which are cooked under the ashes. When they are supposed to be done, they are pulled out from beneath the glowing embers and washed with water, and they finally have a kind of bread with a pleasant taste.

/362 cont./

262 [252] The Chiriguano call kumanara a leguminous plant, wild, which resembles the yuca and which can serve as food after being boiled. They resort to it only when pressed by hunger. The word designating this plant has a strange resemblance to [192] the name of the batata in the Quichua dialects of Ecuador and northern Peru (Rivet, 3, pp. 583-590). It is perhaps a question of a Quichua word introduced into the Chiriguano language to designate a plant of which they did not have the equivalent in their original homeland. The case is nevertheless rare, and one can wonder if it is not a simple coincidence.

[222] [191] Neither do the Chiriguano look down on honey, although they do not seek it with the passion of their cousins, the Kainguá. What I tasted among them was contained in thin honeycombs having the consistency of cardboard. It had a pleasant taste.

222 784 [196] Any Indian who goes in search of honey (ei) must not make his intention known to anyone and, if he is asked where he is going, he must answer: "To look for wood." If you do not take these precautions, the protecting spirit of the honey is warned of your plan and hides the honeycombs he guards (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 86).

222 114 [252] The missionary Corrado (p. 43) assures us that grasshoppers, cicadas, the larvae of bees are that many delicious dishes for the Chiriguano. He adds that these insects are roasted. Nino (p. 247) reproduces the statements of his predecessor and completes the list of strange foods by adding /363/ ants, lizards, leaves of the cucurbitaceae, melted tallow, etc. Personally I [191] have never seen the Chiriguano touch these dishes strange to our palates, but I am all the more inclined to believe these two missionaries that the tastes they indicate are actually those of the Indians in other regions.

262 252 [178] Already in the 16th century the Chiriguano passed as snake lovers, even of poisonous species. They cut off the head and tail, skinned them, and roasted pieces of them on live coals. They used to eat them with pimento. No doubt the Spaniards confused snakes with iguanas, which even today the Chiriguano justly like (Lizárraga, Vol. I, p. 260).

/365 cont./

273 The preparation of chicha is not play; it is necessary not only /366/ to grind an enormous quantity of corn, but again to go
484 ceaselessly to get water, often at a great distance. At Cururutí
482 the nearest potable water was at the bottom of a ravine of particu-
273 larly difficult access. The women were constantly going there with an îru (Plate XVII, 1), which they carried on their backs in a net (añapoka) held on the forehead by a strap. They would fill

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Fig. 31. Woman sifting corn which she has just ground in the mortar beside her. This flour is to be roasted, then chewed to serve as ferment for kãwi. Cararutí. (Photo. A. M.)

484 the jug and, loading it with difficulty, would go back up the
482 steep slope doubled over under the weight. So as not to lose any
273 time, these hard-working creatures would take along a calabash full of ground corn which they continually chewed.

273 The ground corn is cooked in water and constantly stirred
412 with flat sticks whose edges used to be cut out with a certain artistic care in olden days (Fig. 32). Today a kind of oar (Fig. 33) or the scapula of an ox (Fig. 34) fastened to a long handle replaces the ancient utensils in which was manifested so well the Chiriguano tendency to decorate even the most humble objects.

[198]
[239]
[531]

[For Plate XVII, See Category 116, P. 127-- Analyst]

/369 cont./

293 574 576 [554] At Sainirenda on Easter Day I was able to note that the first one served is always the "captain." As before, the vessel full of kãwi is put down at his feet. He drinks the first bumper, then hands his cup or calabash to his neighbor. The latter gives back the calabash empty or fills it and passes it on in his turn. Several calabashes are circulated, but they always come back to the first person who received each one and he finishes it. The men move from their places several times to go to serve the women who, on their part, do not forget themselves and drink according to the same /370/ [533] ritual as the men. The drinking takes place to the sound of flutes and violins.

When the supply of kãwi is exhausted in a village, they get in single file and, the music at the head, go elsewhere to revel.

[789] [198] [302] Formerly the preparation of kãwi was accompanied by magic rites. Today nothing is left of this but the custom of daubing the face and legs with roucou. In certain villages the women do not even take this precaution any more. However, between Caruruti and Caipipendí, I could still see several women stained like this, who seemed "handsome devils," to use an expression dear to Jean de Léry.

415 ## Notes on the Cooking Utensils Used among the Chiriguano

Nothing strikes the traveler who arrives in a Chiriguano village so much as the abundance of pieces of pottery he finds inside or outside the huts. Figure 1 of Plate XIV /see p. 115/ gives an idea /Fig. 35 appears here/ of the number of vessels one can see in a small area at the time when the Indians are preparing corn beer.

[197] [198] Pottery for culinary use among the Chiriguano has a completely different nature from that for ceremonial days. The latter is clearly of Andean origin with a few rare Arawak elements, while the former has retained a very marked Guarani character.

Choroti SK6
Araucanians S64
Tupi-Guarani SL6

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Wooden Bowls and Basins

C 415 171 439

The Chiriguano also use wooden bowls (Fig. 49). I do not know whether they make them themselves or receive them from the half-breeds of the /Fig. 48 appears here/ San Luis region. In this latter case the Chiriguano of the San Luis (Entre-Rios) region would be the only ones to make them. In Tarija /Figs. 49-50 appear here./ where these bowls are much sought after by the half-breeds, they were indicated to me as coming from that zone. The rare wooden bowls which /378/ I saw at Caipipendí had been bought by the Chiriguano in the course of their trips. The same origin must be attributed to the wooden troughs found among the Chiriguano who live near the Quichua half-breeds of Tarija department. These basins are used for washing food and also as bathtubs. The Choroti have wooden dishes (Nordenskiöld, 9, Fig. 20, p. 88) which have a shape very similar to that of the trough reproduced here (Fig. 50) and which doubtless were introduced among them either by the ancient Quichua or by the half-breeds. Among the Araucan of Argentina wooden basins are found, which are similar in every detail to those of the Indians and half-breeds of Bolivia and the specimen pictured here.

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A 415 171

Chapter V

Tools of the Chiriguano

C 412 178 [179]

The work tools the Chiriguano use nowadays are almost all of European manufacture. Here and there the ancient forms were kept when stone or bone were replaced by iron. Witness the adze of Plate XXII /see p.143 / which constitutes a curious survival of the eared or T-shaped ax certainly adopted by the Chiriguano after their migration and their establishment at the foot of the Andes. This type of ax is unknown to me from any other Tupi-Guarani tribe and is rare in the area occupied by the different nations belonging to this linguistic family (see Rivet, 1, pp. 149-155).

T-G [412] [184]

/378 cont./

412 114 171 178 The specimen I am publishing here was still giving good service to its owner, who gave it to me with regret and only for a large sum of money. The presence of the eared ax among the modern Chiriguano invalidates the allegation of Nordenskiöld (14, p. 120), who places it among the cultural elements which have completely disappeared in South America. It survived [181] thanks to the prodigious conservatism of the Indians. I am convinced that several of the objects whose disappearance is attested to by Nordenskiöld will perhaps be found in some tribe now living, when we have more abundant ethnographic material from South America than we now have at our disposal.

412 171 Another very interesting peculiarity of this ax is the bent shape of the handle, to which the blade is securely fastened with leather thongs. The distribution of the bent-handled ax has been traced by Linné (2, p. 202). Few tribes of South America have continued to use it up to our day. They are: the Colorado of Ecuador, the Tukano /Tucano/, Tariana, and other tribes of the /Plates XXII and XXIII appear here/ /379/ Caiary-Uaupés, the Tehuelche, and the modern Quichua /Quechua/. Among the Indians of the Caiary-Uaupés the tool lost all practical value and finally became a simple dance accessory (Koch-Grünberg, 2, Vol. I, Fig. 225, p. 350). /Fig. 51 appears here./

The bent ax has been found archeologically in Peru (Chuquitanta; Marquez Valley near Lima) and in Casabindo in La Puna de Jujuy (Argentine Republic). The specimens from Peru are designated as being hoes, which is possible. However, I shall call attention to the fact that the Chiriguano specimen from Caipipendí is exclusively a carpenter's instrument, which the Indians use for cutting the pieces of wood from which they make their furniture or weapons. /Fig. 52 appears here./

Figure 51 shows how modern axes of the simple neolithic ax type can be hafted exactly like their stone prototypes. The similarity of this ax to the stone ones used up to today by the Guayaki extends to the somewhat arched shape of the handle and to its slightly swollen upper end (La Hitte, Plate IV, 9).

/388 cont./

415 184 The footed bowl or "compote" (Fig. 72) comes from the Caipipendí valley, the same as the vessel with ribbed belly of Plate XXVI, 2. These are the only specimens of this type that I found in the whole Chiriguano country.

415 184 532 Anthropomorphic or zoomorphic vessels are rare. Scarcely anywhere but in the Caipipendí valley is corn beer ordinarily served you in vessels shaped like a bull. Besides, their workmanship is careless. The admirable anthropomorphic vessel of Plate XXVI, 1 is an exceptional piece.

415 Twinned vessels (Plate XXVII, 3) and those which a constriction separates into two bodies (Figs. 74, 75, and Plate XXVII, 1) are very rare.

415 531 The motifs painted on Chiriguano vessels most often are of a purely geometric nature.

There are few exceptions to this rule. As an example of them, I shall give the large yambuí of Plate LII, 1, on the belly of which have been painted more or less stylized dogs, chickens, and toads; the yambuí of Figure 83, whose principal decoration is composed of a series of yakú (pavo del monte /wild turkey/, Penelope spec.); and finally several vessels in my collections, which I did not want to publish because of their completely Europeanized form. On one of them silhouettes of nandus are distinguishable (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 222) and on another have been drawn a man and woman whose hands are united by a red line (symbo of marriage, of love?).

I remember having seen on a jar in the Caipipendí valley /389/ nandis drawn with particular skill. I would gladly have bought that piece if it had been possible to arrange its transportation.

• [178] The vessel of Figure 83, $\frac{1}{A}$ gives an excellent idea of what Chiriguano potters could do in the "realistic" genre if a long /Fig. 61 appears here/ tradition did not oblige them to limit themselves to the representation of geometric motifs.

$\frac{1}{A}$ [See P 249, Category 116--Analyst]

/393/

Decline of the Art of Pottery among the Chiriguano

323 178 415 Of all the Chiriguano industries the most threatened one is doubtless ceramics. The Chiriguano can claim the glory of having been until recently the last Indians of South America /Fig. 64 appears here/ to have a pottery which deserved to be included in the number of beautiful manifestations of this art, so brilliantly represented in certain regions of the continent. Today things have changed a great deal. Villages in which one can still find women capable of decorating vessels with the mastery of former days have become rare and are limited 415 126 178 to a restricted area. /394/ It was in the tolderías of the Timboy, the Great Salado and the Little Salado, in the region of Yumbía and in the Igüembé valley (upper Pilcomayo, departments of Tarija and Chuquisaca) that I was able to collect the finest specimens in my collection. Elsewhere it was exceptional /Fig. 65 appears here/ /see p. 166/ to be lucky enough to lay my hands on a fine piece; and, if I did have this luck several times, it was almost always a question of an old vessel pre- [197] served as if by a miracle. The Franciscan missions which formerly gave Nordenskiöld and Holmberg such fine specimens 799 contributed less toward enriching my collections. Nothing ex- 323 presses the sad state of decline of the Chiriguano better than 415 what I /395/ could observe in the Macharetí mission. After 178 going through nearly all the huts of this large village, which in [162] normal times has close to 2,000 inhabitants, I could scarcely acquire five or six yambuí having some artistic value. There [463] were no longer more than three or four women who still knew how to hold a brush and they had to /Fig. 66 appears here/ /see p. 167/ provide for almost the whole village. In a few years the ancient painted pottery will exist only in memory in the large village where the famous "Captain" Mandepona lived.

323 415 178 177 This decline has several causes. The first is the state of profound demoralization in which the Chiriguano are found, the total disorganization of their social life, and the increasing influence of the white men, followed by its corruptive effects: finally, the introduction of manufactured products, first and foremost gasoline cans.

/396/

000 323 178 463 887 531

first and foremost gasoline cans. Artistic ceramics have become the appanage of a few old women who are not founding a school and who

323 415 142 302

Fig. 64. Fabrication of a large vat: the roll of clay is placed on the preceding one and flattened between the thumb and the other fingers of the potter. Finger impressions result from this, forming a crude design.

[531]

323 178 463 887 531

will carry the secret of their art to the grave. Already today, obliged to satisfy a large demand, they endlessly repeat the same motifs and have a vexing tendency to draw them hastily and without any care at all. These designs are becoming awkward, crude, and are taking on a primitive appearance which is far from corresponding to the taste and culture of the Chiriguano.

/396 cont./

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Fig. 65. Fabrication of a large vat: the potter impresses her thumbnail into the *still soft clay to obtain a regular* design.

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In some villages there are no more potters. The inhabitants of the toldería of Ibopeyti, for example, have to import the painted vessels they need to celebrate festivals. When I wanted to acquire them, it was generally objected that they had been bought and often at a very high price. "You go away and leave us without vessels," they often used to say to me as a half-joking, half-sad good-by after my raids.

/396 cont./

323 Without wishing to pass as a prophet, I think I can
178 assign five years of life to the artistic pottery of the Chiriguano. Already it is becoming difficult to make collections of it, at least collections having aesthetic value.

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Fig. 66. Fabrication of a large vat: when dry, the clay is polished with a well-polished stone. The purpose of this operation is to avoid all porosity in the surface of the vessel.

415 The state of decline and regression in which Chiriguano
198 pottery is found explains perhaps the decided differences
184 often existing in the pottery of the various regions inhabited
323 by the Chiriguano. Artists being few, it is not surprising that their output varies little and that, because of this, the vessels of one village are all very much alike.

1: Méraux--168 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
Omaguaca SI9

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/306 cont./

In former times when artists were not lacking, the number of motifs used within each group must have been larger, and in this variety was doubtless found many an element which today seems to have disappeared, only to be met in another zone. It is probable that an ethnographer who might have made a collection among the Chiriguano a century ago would have established a classification other than the one I have tried to outline here.

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Comparative Study of the Basic Elements of the Painted Pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians

1. The Problem of the Chincha Atacama Civilization

The pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians shows such strong affinities with that of the ancient Andean populations from the point of view of form as well as decoration that their relationship cannot be doubted.

These analogies are especially striking among certain pieces /297/ of pottery dug up in the Quebrada de Humahuaca and the ones still made by Chiriguano or Chané women. With an interval of four centuries the resemblance between the pottery of these two regions is still so pronounced that it had attracted the attention of Mr. Debenedetti (2, pp. 134, 149, note 1, and 156), even though he apparently had for his whole basis of comparison only a few rare pieces of very simple Chiriguano pottery collected in the Chaco and of such uncertain provenance that one of them was attributed to the Choroti. The latter in reality, have pottery of an entirely different type, although also influenced by the Andean civilization.

C
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[498]
[439]

The affinities of Chiriguano pottery with certain pottery of the Quebrada de Humahuaca have been scientifically established by Nordenskiöld (10, p. 142). This scholar explains these surprising similarities very naturally by the influence the Indians of the Humahuaca region had on their immediate neighbors, the Chané or Chiriguano, and by the trade relations these peoples maintained.

1: Métraux-- 174 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Atacama S65
Prehistoric Argentina SI3

/400/

A 172 Boman (2, Vol. II, pp. 767-778) is the first to have defined the specific characteristics of the most important of these cultures from the historical point of view, that of the Atacama. By comparing the objects his own excavations or those of his colleagues brought to light in Calama, in Chiuchiu in the Atacama Desert, and in various localities of the Puna de Jujuy, he could demonstrate the homogeneity of these finds. He rightly attributed all these remains to one single people, the Atacama, whose habitat probably embraced, besides the regions I have just enumerated, the Puna de Atacama and part of the Calchaqui Valley as far as La Paya.

C 172 531

C [178] Fig. 68. Fragments of incised pottery found at Caipipendí. Present-day Chiriguano never decorate their pottery with engraved lines. (2/3 nat. size.)

A 114 172 However, there is one aspect of the problem to which Boman gave too limited a solution. In seeking to determine the frontiers of the ancient peoples of the north and northwest of Argentina, in my opinion he stressed too much the divergences which the remains of their culture present and not enough the traits they have in common. Still, the points of contact are too numerous and too specific to be attributable simply to a great Peruvian civilization from which these civilizations emanated.

1: Métraux--182 E-6 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Prehistoric Artifacts 23

PA 415 192
C 415 191

/404 cont./

The cemeteries of the Isla de Tilcara have given numerous specimens of this type (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 98, p. 152; Fig. 101, p. 154; Fig. 104, p. 157; Fig. 106, p. 158; Figs. 109-111, p. 162; Figs. 113-114, pp. 165-166), of which a specimen has also been found in the Alfarcito in the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 4, Fig. 15, p. 29). /Plate XXVII appears here./

C 415 191

/405/ Vessels whose appearance is obviously similar to that of our yapepo were formerly used in Chile (Latcham, Fig. 17, p. 11).

PA 415 531 192
C 415 531 198

a b

Fig. 70. The iru (a), drawn from Debenedetti, was found on the Isla de Tilcara. Vessel b is modern. It comes from the Chiriguano village of Yumbia. It attests to the fidelity with which the Chiriguano have kept to our day the ancient types of Andean pottery. (1/6 nat. size.)

C 415 191

3. The large yambuí of Plate LV, $3\frac{2}{a}$, is not a common type in South America. Jijon y Caamaño (p. 24, Fig. 15) cites only one specimen, coming from Imbabura in Ecuador, which was known to him outside of Chiriguano country.

4. The two yambuí of Plates XLI, $1\frac{3}{a}$, and LV, $1\frac{3}{a}$, both come from the Ivu mission. Their form is unusual in Chiriguano country, but very interesting by reason of the analogy it offers with that of vessels dug up in Catamarca province in Caspinchango (Debenedetti, 5, Figs. 9 and 10, pp. 23-24) and that of funerary urns from La Rioja discovered and published by Boman (5, Fig. 46, p. 24).

$\frac{1}{a}$ [See p. 239.--Analyst]

$\frac{3}{a}$, $\frac{1}{a}$ [See pp. 217 and 239 respectively--Analyst]

Is Méraux--210 E-5 (1929) 1930 GP10 Chiriguano GP10
Prehistoric Argentina 523
Diaguita 526

PA /418 cont./
531 taking off from a blackened triangle. A painted vessel from
1971 the same locality has the same motif on its belly, but there the spiral has changed into a fret.

So that the distribution of the triangle with spiral may be complete, we must add: Cayonchango in Catamarca province (Debenedetti, 5, Figs. 10-12, pp. 26-28, and Fig. 14, p. 27); San Blas de los Sauces y Los Manas in La Rioja province (Boman, 5, Plate VI, Fig. E; Plate VII, Fig. F; Plate XX, Figs. a and b, and Fig. 11, p. 61); Amotegasta de la Sierra (Ambrosetti, 5, Plate I, Fig. 31 and 32); Chaflar Yaco (Catamarca) (Lafone Quevedo, 1, Fig. 47, p. 39); and finally Barreal in San Juan province (Kilby, p. 21).

D The recent excavations of Messrs. Emile and Duncan
PA Wagner in the province of Santiago del Estero permitted them
531 to discover the remains of a population whose culture was
1971 closely related to that of the valleys of the Diaguite region. It is undoubtedly a matter of a tribe of the Kokan language, established on the plain crossed by the Salado River. There too we find our triangle with volute, judging by the plates on which Mr. Duncan Wagner has tried to reconstitute the pieces of pottery whose fragments he found. Here again we note the transition of the volute to the fret.

D Over and above these additions, some observations must
PA be made concerning the passage from Odilia Iregarte. The
531 triangle whose apex is prolonged in a curved or straight line
[1978] can be considered as a degeneration of the voluted triangle, as has already been said above (see Lafone Quevedo, 5, Plate IX, b).

D I have called attention several times to the transition
531 of the volute into fretwork or element of it. This progressive
1978 mutation of one motif into another took place in Diaguite country exactly as among the Chiriguano. Urns of the Santa
[531 Maria type exhibit, among other common decorations, a
1978] triangle, with steps or not, which terminates in fretwork. Now on several specimens this fret element is a volute or a /Plates XXXV-XLVI appear here/ /418/ more or less closed

A34 cont./

28 [167] The Chiriguano have their loom in common with many tribes of tropical America, and they doubtless were already acquainted with it in Paraguay, at least in a more rudimentary form. In some Chiriguano villages looms of the Inca or Quichua /Quechua/ type, that is to say, horizontal ones, can be seen. The warp is then fastened to a small cord along a piece of wood and the cloth is rolled around as it is produced.

28 [168] 29 [169] Headbands and belts are woven with looms of a type similar to the one just described. The warp threads are fastened to a loop of cotton attached to a hut post. As the fabric is made it is rolled around two small sticks or two ears of corn attached to the lower end of the warp (for this type of loom, see Nordenskiöld, 10, Fig. 4, p. 178).

29 [170] I am reproducing in Fig. 90 a tsumbi headband. These ornaments have now become very rare, and only a few old men still wear them. Our specimen is dyed with natural colors.

29 [171] Every Indian woman who lives outside the influence of the missions still wears the tipoy, that is, a kind of long sheath which they fasten on the shoulder nowadays with a safety pin and formerly /Plate LXXII appears here/ /630/ with a thorn. In olden times these tipoy were woven by the Indian women on looms of the Arawak type. They were of cotton and dyed blue-black. /Fig. 90 appears here./ Today it is almost impossible to find a woman whose tipoy is not made of chamalote, a kind of cheap cotton cloth which the Syrians and half-breeds sell at a high price to our Indians. In the Caipipendí valley /Fig. 91 appears here/ I met two old women who still kept the tipoy of olden times. They would not give it up to me for any price. At Caraguatí, an old fellow desirous of stealing a good bargain sold me his wife's at a very /636/ high price in order to buy brandy for himself. It was very necessary to celebrate Easter fittingly.

[197] [198] The shirts (tipo-kumbaé) which the men formerly sported exist no more except in the memory of the old men.

(See p. 275--Analysis)

Is Métraux--286 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

Ce 101 194 /443 cont./ the center of dispersion of the Arawak must be placed to the north of the Amazon, and before the Chiriguano invasion the Arawak tribe of the Chané was established over the whole extent of the territory now occupied by the former.

C 285 191 Beside this technique another exists, known to the Chiriguano since time immemorial and well before their great migration. The English-language ethnographers give it the name of twilled work. No other type of basketwork is so widespread. This technique is preponderant in all of tropical America from the Antilles to Paraguay and in the south stops at the Chaco. The Chiriguano are the only Indians of the Chaco among whom twilled work is in current use. This type of basketry used to exist on the coast of ancient Peru, but its importance there was not great and it appears only in work baskets.

C 285 194 Basketry in wicker work and that in twined work do not have an identical distribution among the Chiriguano. Baskets of the first kind are numerous in the villages of the upper Pilcomayo (Saladito, Salado Grande and Chico, Ibopeytí, and Yumbia) and go as far as the Ivu mission. They stop, or are rare, in the rest of the Chiriguano country, notably in the Caipipendí valley, where baskets of the second type (twilled work) predominate almost exclusively. These are widespread there, and the beauty of their workmanship, the embellishments with which they are provided, put them well above the basketwork of any other zone and even above that of tribes living in regions richer in palm trees.

C [126] In the huts of the upper Pilcomayo I collected several baskets in twilled work, but they were rare there and often incomplete and torn. I had the impression that they had arrived there by way of commercial exchanges. In any case, the Indians no longer plait baskets of this type, and it is possible that their disappearance has given value to the specimens of them which remain. That would explain the absence of any new specimen and the preservation of ancient baskets almost beyond usefulness. Be that as it may, at present the true center of basketry in twilled work is the Caipipendí valley, and that of the basketry of /444/ wicker work, the region of the upper Pilcomayo. Since the living conditions of the

C [178] Chiriguano in the missions north and south of the Pilcomayo have undergone deep modifications, I do not know what the respective

/464 cont./

796 Eyu ŝekuama — Come and kiss me
832 Ŝemireko mi — My little wife
786 Diyuru emesie — Give me thy mouth
539 Tuiŝa dipota — I love thee much
Ŝe songo pe — With my heart

Ime deresa ikavi — Thou hast pretty eyes
Ime diyuro misiray — Thou hast a little mouth
Tuiŝa dipota — I love thee much
Pairamo ayporu deve. — For that I am going to ask for thee.

796 During this time young or old men with their faces
532 covered by a mask (añawasu) run here and there, force the peo-
522 ple to dance by blows of a stick, play tricks on them, and address jokes to them.

796 The feast lasts as long as there is kãwi or alcohol. At
[273] the moment when it is on the point of ending, a final ceremony takes place. The rite of going out is similar to the rite of entering: the couple who planted the flowery stick tear it from the ground and go out of the village, followed by the añawasu and all those who took part in the festival. The procession advances to a certain distance from the village to the sound of the flutes and drums. They throw away the masks and throw stones while shouting. The carnival is finished and everyone goes home.
[585] Some take along their new wife, for it is at this moment that most marriages are celebrated.

796 The carnival festivity such as I have just described in-
177 volves only a few elements borrowed from the half-breeds or
178 creoles, outside of the coincidence of dates. This is an ancient
[241] feast of a purely agricultural character, which the Chiriguano have acquired the habit of celebrating at the same time as the Bolivian carnival. Besides, the Indians of Ibopeytí are pagans.

796 The masked men are supposed to represent the spirits of the
241 dead, as their name indicates (aña: spirit; wasu: great). As in
171 the festivals of the Guianas and Central America, they come in numbers /Plate LXXXVI appears here/ /465/ to insure for their

[Text continues on p. 329]

/466 cont./

Chapter XI

Combs

C 302 G T [302] C [197] Formerly, at the time when they carried out the conquest of their present territory, the Chiriguano wore a tonsure after the fashion of their relatives in Paraguay and the coast of Brazil, the Guarani and Tupinamba, who shaved the whole anterior part of the skull with a bamboo chip /467/ (see Métraux, 2, pp. 181-185) (1). Later, probably under the influence of the Chané or the Quichua /Quechua/, the Chiriguano abandoned the tonsure and let their hair grow, letting it fall over the nape of the neck and the back. They were content to cut it on the forehead from one temple to the other.

1. Annuae litterae, page 407: "Cultus eorum singularis valde, coronis in modum nostrorum Sacerdotum utuntur, reliqui vero capilli ad ulnam circiter dimidiam pendent a tergo; corpora utplurimum variis depingunt coloribus."
(Their appearance [to the Chiriguano] is truly singular. They make use of a tonsure similar to that of our priests, and others let their hair hang down their backs to the length of an aune and a half. They dye their bodies with various colors.)

C 302 198 This hair style, still common in the last century, is tending to disappear in turn. The only ones who have remained faithful to it are a few old men and the inhabitants of several villages lost in the valleys of the upper Pilcomayo.

C [291] [248] The Chiriguano who continue to observe the old style knot their long hair around their heads and hide it under a hat or a kind of turban when they go to work among the white men, for fear of being ridiculed.

/471 cont./

353 and 127). Everything in the world can be found there: small vessels, baskets, boxes, packages carefully wrapped in cloth, in short, a thousand little objects which the Chiriguano women regard as their treasure. From the roof hang hooks from which [414] are suspended household effects or supplies. These hooks are [237] generally of wood, but there are some also which are formed by a deer foot bent back and dried in the sun (Fig. 128).

Every chink in the walls is transformed into a hiding-place where the women put their scissors, the men their knives or combs. /472/ Bows and arrows are slipped between the struts of the roof.

In some huts whose walls are plastered with earth, the Indians arrange niches in the shape of swallows' nests, which serve as rudimentary cupboards. Might there be in that a distant remembrance of the niches so characteristic of Inca houses? It is possible.

352 The inhabitants of each hut sit on the cots or on /Figs.
516 130-132 appear here/ chairs with backs very well copied from
[177] those of the creoles. The women generally squat on the ground.
[178] On the upper Pilcomayo, one still finds benches with two seats (Fig. 129), a cultural element which the Chiriguano inherited from their ancestors of the Amazon basin.

356 The fire for cooking is lighted in the middle of the hut.
[354] Chiriguano dwellings are clean. I have never caught fleas or other vermin there as I have in the ranchos of creoles or half-breeds. The women sweep their huts at least once a day. One is rarely disturbed there by mice (Fig. 132).

532 /480 cont./

Figure 11. Guanaco (José Miguel).

[821] Figure 12. (A): blue jaguar who lives in the sky (personification of the spots on the moon) getting ready to eat the moon (B) and the sun (C), thus bringing on an eclipse.

Chapter XIV

The Treatment of Illnesses

Sorcerers and Remedies

756 Sorcerers. Medicine men have become so rare among the
● 178 Chiriguano that I could not get to know a one during my whole
[123] trip. Only on the upper Pilcomayo did they allude in front of me to a talented paye who lived in a nearby village.

Although great sorcerers endowed with supernatural powers and surrounded with great prestige no longer exist, there still must be in each village a man or woman capable of curing certain illnesses and of pronouncing incantations.

A scene I witnessed at Timboy (Salado River, upper Pilcomayo) demonstrates well that the profession of sorcerer, less important though it may be, has nevertheless not disap-
[122] peared. I was living in the home of a Bolivian half-breed whose child's body was covered with purulent pimples. His parents began by appealing to my medical knowledge, but I declared
75 myself incompetent to treat this case or any other. They then
[824] called an old Indian woman, who appeared one morning with a plant in her hand, a kind of wild pumpkin which the half-breeds call sandía del monte. This plant, crushed and mixed with hot water, is used for external washing. They stretched the child out on the ground and commanded him to hold himself motionless. The old woman sat down near him and began to mutter inaudible incantations which she interrupted only to spit often on the limbs of the little patient. Then she would take up her recitation again, at the same time spreading the saliva over his body from head to feet. Nordenskiold (5, p. 44,

/482 cont./

faces and legs oiled in this way, which gives them a very strange reddish and shiny hue. This custom, which was already noted /483/ in the sixteenth century among the Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast, is tending to fall into disuse.

Roucou in paste form is kept in a small corn-husk bag (Fig. 139). /Fig. 139 appears here/ as is kalasapa, a substance composed of a mixture of roucou and pounded aroma seeds, which gives a violet color.

4. Jaguar fat (yaguapira) cures any "leprosy" (karaŭi) if one rubs oneself with it after heating it.

5. Iguana fat makes cramps go away and heals wounds. Its use is external.

6. The dried penis of a fox makes toothaches and earaches go away. For that it suffices to touch the ailing part with the end /Fig. 140 appears here/ of this member. The Indians consider it very malodorous and touch it only with repugnance. To avoid this inconvenience they provide it with a handle and shut it up in a bamboo case (Fig. 141).

7. Deerhorns heated and /Fig. 141 appears here/ applied against the neck will cure a stiff neck. The medical use of deer (wasu) horns explains the frequent presence of the horns of this animal in the archeological strata of the neighboring Andean regions. Some have thus been found in the ruins of the Alfarcito, in the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 4, p. 21), at Tilcara (Debenedetti, 2, p. 232), at La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Fig. 235, p. 453), and at Tastil (Boman, 2, Vol. I, Plate XXIX, Fig. 78 f).

Horns adhering to a fragment of the skull and whose use could only have been magical or medical must be distinguished from the ones which the Indians work into awls. These instruments still have a ritual use and are reserved for piercing the lower lip of children when they are old enough to wear the labret. At least this is what Campana (p. 60) informs us. Besides, the Indians all have confirmed this detail to me. Formerly, the Tupinamba of Brazil practiced this operation with an awl of the same nature (see Métraux, 3, p. 105).

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chiriguano mortars are of the cylindrical type; the pestle is long and heavy. Maize flour is sifted in round basket sieves very similar to those used in the rest of tropical South America. Meat is boiled or broiled on a spit; the babracot is conspicuously absent. Food is served in clay bowls and more rarely in wooden dishes, and eaten with wooden spoons. Salt is extracted from mines near San Luis, or obtained by evaporating the water of salty brooks.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

Dwellings.—Until the 17th century, the *Chiriguano* built large communal houses, "150 feet [46 m.] long," in which many families lived together, each occupying the space between two wall posts (Lizárraga, 1909, p. 552). A hundred years later they were lodged, as they are now, in small rectangular houses, with a steep gable roof and wattle-and-daub walls. Sometimes the roof projects in front to form a small veranda. A house belongs either to a single biological family or to two or three closely related families, generally parents with their married children.

The ancient villages were composed of three to five long houses, grouped around the plaza. Modern villages also have a central plaza. A storehouse is built on piles near each dwelling and serves to protect crops against rats and dampness. Like the settlements of their Paraguayan ancestors, some ancient *Chiriguano* villages were protected by a single or double palisade.

Household furniture.—The *Chiriguano* sleep on platform beds of reeds and use their woolen or cotton hammocks to recline on during the day or as cradles for babies. The typical *Chiriguano* hammock is made of long warp threads twined together at set intervals by weft strands; a few caraguatá specimens are made in a net technique. Other items of furniture are benches carved of a single piece of wood, large vessels to store clothes and food, and crude shelves hanging from the roof. A tree trunk with three radiating branches serves as supports for vessels or for piles of corn.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Clothing.—*Chiriguano* men, wearing only a G string (chiripá), were a common sight before shirts and pants came into general use. The cotton tunic (cushma), which was adopted from the *Quechua* after the *Chiriguano* migrations, disappeared long ago, but the poncho, a more recent acquisition, is still popular. As early as the 18th century, *Chiriguano* horsemen, in true Spanish style, wore skin breeches and leather coats. They wear sandals when they have to walk over stony ground or through thorny bush.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chiriguano women still dress in tipoys, a long, sacklike garment, fastened on both shoulders with thorns or sometimes with luxurious silver pins (pl. 42, *right*). Some tipoys (tiru) are so long that they need to be folded. 291

Anciently, *Chiriguano* men shaved their foreheads, as did the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. At a later period, men and women wore their hair long and carefully groomed it with combs. These were artistically carved from a single piece of wood; some of them were cut into the shape of animals. Men wrapped their hair around the head and kept it in place with a headband. 302 412

Women part their hair in the middle and tie it over the neck with a tasseled fillet, or with a ribbon across the forehead.

Body painting.—Both sexes formerly painted their faces and their bodies with urucú. In more recent times, women were content to smear their cheeks with urucú before taking part in a feast. Men stained their teeth black with a special grass. 302 178

Ornaments.—The distinctive ornament of the *Chiriguano*, even in modern times, is a tin labret studded with turquoise fragments (pl. 43; fig. 59, *e*). Originally, labrets were made of rosin, as were those of the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. Wooden labrets or a piece of reed inserted in the lower lip remains common among children and also among men too poor to acquire a metal labret. Some of the round tin labrets are more than an inch in diameter without including the flanges which hold them on the inside of the lower lip. 301 178

Feather ornaments almost disappeared after the migration and were replaced by typical Andean woven frontlets studded with metal plates. Men hung elongated silver plates from their necks; these ornaments probably originated from small metal tweezers worn in the same fashion (fig. 59, *a*). The most valued necklaces are composed of turquoise or chrysocolla beads which are traded from the Mestizos of Tarija or taken from the sepulchers of the people who preceded the *Chiriguano* in their habitat. Ordinary necklaces were once strung with shells or seeds, but now consist of glass beads. 301 177 [439]

Miscellaneous.—The *Chiriguano* have the deserved reputation of being among the cleanest Indians of South America. Men and women bathe several times a day, washing themselves with crushed fruits containing saponin. Soap is in great demand throughout *Chiriguano* territory. 515 824

Men depilated their faces and bodies with metal tweezers. 302

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The rivers in *Chiriguano* territory are not suitable for navigation; the only watercraft are crude rafts used to cross the Pilcomayo River. 501

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Fire.—For several generations the *Chiriguano* and *Chané* have used steel and flint for making fire. The fire drill is, however, remembered in their mythology.

Weapons.—The *Chiriguano* bow has an average length of 4 feet (1.2 m.); the stave is flat on the belly and convex on the back. Both ends are sharpened to prevent the string of twisted hide from slipping.

Arrows are tipped with carefully barbed rods, with two rods barbed along the outer edges, (fig. 59, *b*) with flat lanceolate heads, or with a conical knob (bird arrow). The arrows armed with two diverging rods are used to shoot large birds, such as the yacu (*Penelope* sp.). Fishing arrows of the *Chané* bristle with cactus thorns. Today arrows ending in a sharp wooden rod are rare, as the modern arrows are usually tipped with heavy wires. The shafts are made of cultivated reeds (*Arundo donax*). Formerly, the *Chané* used the uva grass (*Gynerium sagittatum*). Feathering, which is of the cemented type, is sometimes omitted.

The clubs of the *Chiriguano* in the 17th century were short and ended in a flat, oval head, a shape somewhat related to the ancient *Tupinamba* club. These clubs have disappeared (only a single specimen could be obtained in 1929 by Métraux) and have been replaced by simple cudgels that serve only to knock down wild pigs.

Chiriguano in direct contact with the *Quechua* have woolen slings; those living farther to the east have slings made of caraguatá fibers, which they use mainly to chase birds from the fields. The pellet bow is common among the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*, but is merely a toy for boys.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Originally, the *Chiriguano* community consisted of a few extended families or lineages, strictly patrilineal. Modern villages are composed of many small biological families bound by relationship ties or by their allegiance to a common chief.

Chiriguano chiefs (mburubicha) of old were men distinguished by their courage, their eloquence, and often by their magic power. They enjoyed considerable prestige and held no little authority. Some of them (tubicha rubicha) extended their influence over a wide area and were recognized as a supreme chief by the local chieftains. The main function of a chief was to settle quarrels within the village, to punish thieves, to see that people worked in the fields at the proper time, to arrange feasts, and to lead his men in war. Chiefs also had right of eminent domain over the land. Sometimes a chief was assisted by an informal council consisting of shamans and of the oldest and bravest men of the community. As a rule, a chief, even if he was powerful, led the same type of life as any of his subjects; in recent time some chiefs had servants. Some aristocratic pride was evidenced by the members of their family.

/41 cont./

*136 ZORRO /fox/. -- This quadruped is not scarce here among the Chiriguano; it thus seems that it adapts to every climate. It is so intrepid that at night it will go about the towns without betraying its presence to the dogs, but if they do smell it, they pursue it immediately and even kill it, although they may suffer for it, because the dog of the Chiriguano Indian and the fox are equally skinny, but among several of them they achieve their purpose and kill it.

This dauntless beast leaves nothing; it makes its meal off whatever it encounters; it causes considerable damage in the cane fields from the time when the plants begin to become sweet and even pulls up recently planted shoots from their furrows or holes. It slashes watermelons and melons without allowing them to ripen, and as a result of this the farmer often does not taste these gifts. It also does damage in maize fields, but this is an abundant crop and the harm is not felt so much; when it can obtain chickens, it does not fail to provide itself with a good lunch or supper, and to this end it approaches towns and houses in the country by day as well.

There are several classes and sizes of them, but they are smaller, like every animal, than those of the other hemisphere. It is difficult to chase them out of the cane fields, the damage to which will only be reduced by reducing the number of foxes, and this can only be achieved by the use of strychnine or some other poison, which, mixed with small bits of meat, is placed on the various trails that they have opened, causing damage to the sugar-cane plants.

*136 *825 176 178 [161] We shall see in the course of these pages that the Chiriguano used to venerate it as a divinity with the name of "Aguara-Tunpa," or Fox-God, to whom they attributed more power because he was capable of destroying the works of the true tunpa. Today, when the region has been invaded and populated by so many whites and foreigners and the Chiriguano have been reduced to a handful scattered here and there, those who believe in such humbug are few.

/77 cont./

197 194 171 "Conumi," lad. do not have an accent on the i in Chiriguano. but they do in Guaraní.

197 198 361 162 In past centuries the race. and therefore the language. embraced a great deal of territory. but today it is greatly reduced. and I can state without danger of error that it is still numerous in Caipipendi. Pipi. Choreti. Tacuta. Aratico. and in the Potosí and Tarija missions; but in the former places it is scattered among many little towns. while in the latter it makes up respectable towns of 500. 1,000. and 2,000 souls (2).

2. Choreti Guasu is located on the left bank of the Parapiti in Cordillera Province; it almost forms a single town with Membirai. and between the two of them they have about 110 families.

197 198 199 199 Purity of language is now no longer found in any town or in the missions. in the first because of living among whites and continually emigrating to the Argentine Republic. and in the second. the missions. for a third reason. instruction in Spanish. which the missionaries give the boys and girls in the schools; thus. if the race is not finished first. as is feared. because of the continual epidemics and vagrancy. the language will soon be lost. and then the few books that exist will only serve as an historical monument for posterity. which will be able to recognize the merit and labor of the missionaries who spread among them. the Chiriguano. and poured out sweat with the sole purpose of civilizing them in a Christian way (3).

3. There are a grammar. a Spanish-Chiriguano dictionary. a catechism with its translation. Father Corrado's masterpiece. a small Chiriguano-Spanish "Nene" /"Infant"; the work referred to is Nino's Nene Chiriguano/. and many unpublished sermons.

464 /78 cont./ Today there is already a need for farmers,
999 and everybody is coming to the missions looking for day laborers, muleteers, and herders, cheese-makers, house-builders, etc., etc. How will it be later? (2) The immi-

> 2. H. Montero's project, approved by the Commission in the year 1910, may well be approved by Congress, but it seems impossible to me that the caciques will report the Indians who try to go to Argentina. To charge missionary padres to send 25 per cent of the people to the intendancies, where they will receive a daily pay which is lower than what they are paid in their own town, is to drive away the missionary who cannot comply with this obligation every month because the Indians will resist it or run away.

gration of useful people, not idle people, is necesary, but not in order to destroy the missionary centers, /79/ as is proposed, because this would soon end up by destroying the tribe, but colonizing what is unpopulated. What did the government achieve by the absence of missionaries in Villa Montes? That the Indians will now not work for anyone, and only do so when they are good and ready. All the authority of a delegation was not sufficient to get a few days' work out of its population, and for this reason the previous work was at the point of being completely destroyed; weeds had taken over in the vineyards and gardens which had been so fruitful and so well maintained in the time of the earlier missionaries.

175 464 [164] Now almost all of the great Chiriguano centers have disappeared, and barely the names of the great caciques of some faction or other remain; in all of the cantons the disappearance of the labor force causes astonishment, and service is scarcely to be obtained for fuel. Even the missions [777] [162] are undergoing this decline; in Acero Province there must be some 5,000 souls, in Cordillera some 8,000, in the

/79 cont./

178 444 [197] [162] Chaco and O'Connor Province, 5,000, in the Tarija missions there are 4,500, and in those of Potosí, 3,905, which makes a total of 26,405, including men and women, big and small, old and young. But of this number there are scarcely 8,000 day laborers, or strong men fit for any work, and what is the extent of land in Chiriguano hands through their own will or that of others? Some 140 leagues from [131] [465] north to south, more than 40 from east to west; if today the cultivation of these lands is difficult, tomorrow it will be impossible; if today it is hard to pay 40 centavos to the day laborer, tomorrow they will not be found for 80 centavos.

648 [167] There is a great struggle under way between the Chiriguano and the white; the latter struggles to increase his fortune and hacienda at any cost and tries to dominate and does dominate the Chiriguano, as one who is nobler and more powerful; the former struggles for his existence as long as he can, but, because he is weak and inferior, yields to the power of the white; when his spirit has been broken by the superior force which dominates him like a slave, he disappears and imperceptibly emigrates to a place where he is treated with more apparent humanity, though not certain and real, but which the Indian does not recognize (1).

[444] 1. According to references, the day laborer in Argentina earns 25 or 30 nacionales per month, without food, which in a foreign land is expensive for the Chiriguano; nevertheless, since the clothing and the animals which the company sells are not expensive, the day laborers who are economical and not given to drink come back well clothed, bringing a horse or an ass or clothing for his children and wife.

178 797 361 From this /80/ it follows that the large towns of former times and the very missions which antedate South American independence have in some cases disappeared entirely and others are on the point of disappearing.

/113 cont./

165 [145] advanced age. and I have seen Indians with the head completely white. and others with a white the color of smoke or something smoked. In the performance of my ministry I have met and baptized many centenarians at the time of their death. and in the towns through which I have passed I have met several who fought in the Caraparí war and who witnessed the War of Independence.

273 276 [178] But today the Chiriguano has degenerated greatly: in somewhat distant times they did not know about either liquor or coca. and today both are general. and because of liquor and coca. the use of which they much abuse. they ruin their health and shorten their existence. Much youth disappears with the abuse of these substances. and as a general rule in the missions the best disappear. those who know some art or have some fortune: all that they earn. after buying their clothing (although not always). they invest in liquor and coca. and [165 248] thus shorten their lives. I have seen towns where out of 40 or 50 young men of the same age there are scarcely two or three alive who will reach 50: it can thus be seen that the drunkenness produced by chicha is not so pernicious as that of liquor or alcohol. for which any tax imposed on them by the Supreme Government is never too much. and would that such a tax were higher. more general. and that it was not felt to be enough simply to write it out. In spite of this dissipated life. it is [142 149] very rare that one encounters a bald Indian. which indicates great robustness (1).

1. I have known many large and small Chiriguano towns: I have only found three semibald persons.

Morality

181 At present the Chiriguano Indian differs slightly or not at all morally from the common mass of men. I mean that not all are good nor are all perverse: there are good ones and bad ones

4: Nino--158 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/114 cont./

648 721 Once the conquest had been completed through the work of the missionaries and through colonization by the inhabitants of several departments, the Chiriguano had to submit to the rights of the stronger; on several occasions he tried to raise his head by means of general uprisings, such as the one of 1875 and the one of 1892 in Curuyuqui de Cuevo-Ibo, but they succumbed because of the difference in arms and because the whites were well situated (3).

[113]

3. Mattarelli. Addition to the Historia de Misiones del Colegio de Potosí, which deals with the Curuyuqui war and the beginnings of the founding of the San Buenaventura de Ivo Mission.

648 •198 /115/ A new uprising seems unlikely today because they are few and because the territory is populated by whites who have taken over the territory by right of conquest and through purchase made before the Supreme Government, but the Indians have not resigned themselves to permanent servitude, having once been lords of their house and land; their pride has been put down by superior forces, and most of them endure their fate with resignation.

To be sure, it is a fact that the Chiriguano of today is not the Chiriguano of other times; he is not the one who fought so tenaciously against the soldier of the Inca army, against the Spaniard, and against the Bolivian soldier himself. This change has taken place. I shall say once more, through the loss of territory and his independence, and in repeated struggles of extraordinary tenacity, which only resulted in aggravating a bad situation, and in the loss of their most beloved people and of their lands. For better or for worse they have had to submit to the laws of the Government of the Republic, which still exercises supreme authority over them, in the missions, where it is embodied in the corregidor, in the provinces in the person of the subprefects, and in the cantons in that of the corregidors, who generally make use of the cacique or the alcalde to

/115 cont./
obtain the participation of his people when some work of public utility is ordered.

Dominant among the Chiriguano are idleness, inconstancy, intemperance, thievery, infanticide, abortion, and even suicide, which is generally committed by the women. They only work when it is necessary and when they are overcome by want; then they will sweat in order to eat, and then with all humility they appear at the house of a Christian and deliver themselves into his charge with the whole family. But if near the *casa* /sic: see *casay*, p. 197/, they find another of their own race who might favor them, even though it be disadvantageous, they do it, because they abhor the one whom they consider the author of their misfortunes or of their captivity. Therefore whenever they speak of the *casa*, they append the adjective *pachi*, bad, perverse, tyrannical, cruelly, etc.

They learn very easily everything that is taught them, especially music, for which they seem to have been born, but their fickleness ruins it all: they are not set in their ideas nor do they worry much about any loss, even that of their honor. Temperance is not even known by name, and drunkenness is glory, and for that reason in years of plenty, there are continual orgies in their towns. Thievery and cattle-stealing are relatively recent; they were not common formerly, and the cause is probably that of bad example. In certain areas young cattle disappear from sight, and they are so united that the facts are not easily uncovered. Only after /116/ some time has passed or because of enmity will some fact come to light (1).

1. In their peaceful denunciations they urge great secrecy so that the authorities will not make public their names, out of fear that the person informed upon may take revenge with the use of poison or witchcraft, and, if the crime is not proven, the authorities can do more than reprimand and admonish.

4: Mono--167 M-2 (1895-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/120 cont./

Out of these general wars were derived other private wars, which civilized people called affairs of honor--dueling. This does not happen in private, as occurs among civilized people, who go off to a determined place with their respective seconds. All is public, in the presence of many people who come to drink. It is /121/ the caciques who incite their soldiers to match their strength and to avenge with crime an affront or an unfounded jealousy. When this happens, with or without a reason, the fighters place themselves in the midst of a whole crowd of spectators in the presence of the caciques, who urge them on with a word of command, while the poor angry men hit each other cruel blows.

Boxing is ancient, because formerly knives were not known and, if they had them, they only used them in their work in the fields. Now the picture has changed; the young are succeeding the old, and these young people continually go to work in the Argentine Republic. There they learn how to drink pure liquor, to handle the knife with which they are armed for their work, and to defend themselves. One small word is enough; it is enough if one says yaiyaro, let us fight, the word of challenge, and knives are unsheathed, and then blood flows. Fortunately, they usually are content with inflicting wounds which rarely bring death because they do not deliver the blow with the point of the weapon but with the edge.

This mania for going off to the Argentine Republic has them in continual movement, and, unfortunately, many of them remain for years, to return finally bringing almost nothing with them, and if one asks them, they answer very calmly, "I drank it all." Last year's law has made recruitment impossible. Several Indians went off, but they could not get through Villa-Montes and returned (1).

1. If the authorities in Villa-Montes and Tarija continue to capture the Indians who are trying to escape, the law will not be in vain this time.

/149 cont./

755 756 554 731 embassy to the sorcerer is the cacique, and his companions limit themselves to saying Afiete, that is how it is, just as the altar boy or sacristan says amen.

756 554 574 731 [176] Of course, his arrival is awaited anxiously. All surround him in order to welcome him and give him demonstrations of affection. There is no family which will not bring him whatever it can so that he may cure well. Cooked chickens, boiled eggs, live lambs, and plenty of chicha are all presents for the great rascal. All of this is still done for any sorcerer.

755 756 731 After a short rest, a good meal, and better refreshments, the sorcerer opens his ceremonial with numerous questions in order to try to discover who brought the epidemic to the town, in case it has come in already. If so, he continues in this way and his exorcisms are daily, general for the town, and special for each sick person, as I shall say farther on.

But if the sickness has not come in, he gathers together all of the principal men, they make cigars of tobacco wrapped in maize husks, gather in a circle, light the cigars, and blow smoke in every direction, the sorcerer observing which way the smoke is going. When the location is more or less known, they all go there, club in hand. The sorcerer makes a small excavation and takes from it the charm which he has put there beforehand without being seen; it consists of old, dirty rags mixed with hairs and small bones. Then he burns all that in the presence of the company, strikes the ground with his club and feet, being imitated by all (2).

2. It is not uncommon that the sorcerers themselves take the clothing of persons with smallpox from one town to another in order that the contagion may spread and that they may have some pretext for profit and a life full of gifts.

/180 cont./

574 The Chiriguano is naturally hospitable, and the stranger is welcomed in any hut of an Indian; he considers himself privileged to receive great persons, equals, and inferiors in his hut, which he at once moves out of in the case of the first, accommodating himself in the plaza or in the corridor, and renders him every service within his ability. The woman brings him water and cooks for him, and the man brings firewood and even takes out to pasture the animals with which he is to continue his trip.

574 198 [431] [293] If the Chiriguano has anything available, such as eggs, chickens, etc., he asks nothing for them and is quite happy if the stranger /illustration appears here/ /161/ gives him whatever he wants to when he takes his leave. If he has any of his pretasted liquor available, the first thing that he presents to his guest is a cup of this beverage. But today the situation is causing changes in their simple customs because of the refined ones of the civilized person, who has taught him to sell a chicken for as much as one boliviano. It is no longer as it once was, because his home was not respected (1).

1. Today they receive friends and acquaintances with respect and affection, because some guests or transients took advantage of the native by demanding things or persons to which they had no right.

622 527 [221] It is also a duty of the cacique to determine the time when the fiestas or public drinking sessions are to begin and their duration; these are generally held before and after planting, before and after harvest. If the rain increases and the previous harvest was very scant, the planting is advanced so that the maize will mature earlier and they will have something to drink for Easter. During the other months of the year the cacique directs the public fiestas, the general hunts for jabalíes /wild boar/, quirquinchos, /ostriches/, deer, chuñas /cranes/, and other wild animals (2).

622 224

2. Whenever and wherever maize does not grow in quantity, the Chiriguano imitates the Toba

[Text Continues on P 221]

293 534 191

/171 cont./

which form the skeleton of the house, but where the forest is not tall and the trees slender, nine are needed.

Once the timber has been transported with the help of his companions and relatives and they have been treated with food and chicha, the day for setting up the house is set. The center posts are first placed, with the two holes being dug quite deep; next comes the placement of the four or six lateral ones, which are much shorter so that rain will not stay on the roof and there will not be continual and copious dripping. I measured several relatively new houses, and their pitch from the ground to the ridgepole is about 45 c/o in some and in others 35, it being possible to conclude that the average is 40 (1).

> 1. Chiriguano houses are rectangular with only one room, which, if it is very long, has in the middle another post which holds up the ridgepole so that it may not bend or break.

[178] This proportion is maintained today by the houses in Chiriguano towns, and it cannot be otherwise, because the roof is entirely of straw and the rain would stay on it if it did not have sufficient slope. Some who by mistake build them without this proportion realize at the time of the first torrential rain, and even more in the ones that follow, the mistake that they have made, but in vain, because /172/ it is very difficult for the Indian to correct his lack of foresight.

Once the skeleton of the house has been set up vertically, the rest is simpler to do, except for the placement of the ridgepole and the side beams; the latter can be cut in half to make it easier to move them, in addition to making finding them easier. The placement of these beams is followed by that of the rafters and the reinforcing pieces of wood to strengthen the walls. The rafters are tied with bejuco or with spiny caiba bark, which is called tamuu by the Indians and Tobarochi by the whites.

/177 cont./

342 D14 The hardest part is finished with the previous operation: a short rest is taken, and then the owner of the new building must obtain enough hollow cane, engaging for this purpose Indians who have horses. But if the cane is very far away and has owners to boot, he gathers long sticks of astringent acacia or ubiñi and puts them horizontally every 15 centimeters on top of the rafters with the same above-mentioned lianas. Some [283] people, to tie the cane or sticks, use thin cords made from cowhide, but this, in addition to being more expensive, is less durable than bejuco (1).

[37] [198] [423]

1. Before the whites settled in Chiriguano country, hollow cane was abundant and had no owners; at the present time it cannot be found, and, if there is any, it is in private hands and must be bought.

Generally, before the walls are begun the house is covered with capií, red straw, or, should this not be available, with cañamazo, straw for harnesses of beasts of burden, which is of inferior quality and very soon frays to pieces with the rain, sun, and strong winds, while the capií may last for more than ten years.

[496] If it can be obtained by staying for a few days in a place where it is plentiful, he pulls it up there and reduces it to rather large handfuls; the gathering is done in several days, engaging Indians who own horses. When the material is in the town, he rests for a few days or weeks; he informs or invites those who wish to take part, in particular those who are closest to him by [354] kinship or friendship. These then go about tying the capií between two horizontal canes toward the ridge of the roofs, forming long, narrow lines, and when they are so placed, they attach them horizontally, beginning at the bottom and working /177/ upward or toward the ridgepole, where they leave a large vent to let out the eternal smoke of their unextinguishable fires (1).

1. Now the red straw is disappearing almost completely; the destruction of this necessary

/174 cont./

342 281 second frame, taking care that it is not very tight so that when it dries it will not warp. He attaches this hide from behind with thongs of the same material, and the result for them is a door de luxe, which could be envied even by some whites, who, in spite of the fact that they have hides, either cannot find anyone to work them for such a door, or who out of avarice and in order not to spend a few coins do not concern themselves with such a comfort (2).

342 322 2. Some of them make very crude doors with two pieces of thorny ceiba wood, which they work perfectly with a knife. No Chiriguano puts a window in his house.

Ancient Houses

342 177 178 Some of my readers perhaps may have believed that the house and its mode of construction just described go back to the origin of the race. /175/ This belief would be an error, because they must understand that the above-mentioned is the result of progress. The method of building houses like the present ones is relatively new: they learned it from the whites, especially from the inhabitants of the Santa Cruz area, where the houses all have galleries, this being noted even in the capital of the department, although they may be of much more importance and may be disappearing in the new buildings. But 784 in Monteagudo, Lagunillas, Charagua, and centers where the Chiriguano have their holdings, houses have gallaries.

These, in addition to giving the houses a better appearance, in addition to the indisputable utility, are a very great reinforcement and protection for the walls of the house, not allowing the torrential rains to wear away or demolish the plastering that they do in all the houses. It is true that many houses of the 342 171 whites in their towns are of adobe, but when the timber is of superior quality it is almost preferable, because this material + REMAINS JOINED BETTER AND IS MORE COMPACT.

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remains joined better and is more compact (1).

197 1. When a mission is founded, the first building is the mission house made in the usual way. But in the Potosí missions they are all of timber, and any traveler would marvel at their height and strength.

342 178 The ancient Chiriguano houses were of different form, and they were not alike in size or beauty in the towns. Some were distinguished by their roundness and conical form, and others because they were small and low. The latter had no importance at all and could scarcely even be called huts, in spite of the fact that, to the poor Chiriguano, dominated by his laziness, the smallness of a dwelling does not detract from its importance.

342 171 I am going to deal at some length with the way the houses of conical form were built, because they indicate skill on the part of the builder or because they make one's imagination take wing and fly to China, Africa, and Japan, where similar forms are found and thus make us ever more convinced of the unity of the human race.

As explorers, travelers, histories, and well thought out books say and as is also observed in the pictures of illustrated geographies, it is evident that in China, Japan, Africa, New Zealand, and in the east of Australia not a few of the inhabitants /176/ have houses in conical form.

This form seems to be the original one of the human race, and it is very probable that man has used it in the five parts of the world, since it is even found among the Chiriguano.

342 335 In fact, in order to construct a comfortable house before the Conquest, the clever Chiriguano used the following method. He first obtained a single post of some four or five meters and planted it at a depth of approximately one meter (1).

[476] [574] 1. For any small job for which the Indian must trouble his friends, he would get nothing without offering them a drink. Not even money is so esteemed and appreciated as chicha by the Chiriguano.

/177 cont./

Fire

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In conical houses as well as in those of rectangular form, ancient as well as modern, a fire burned, and still burns, night and day; it is never extinguished, but should this happen, the way to relight it is to borrow it from the neighbors. If all the inhabitants of a tribe have temporarily emigrated to a place which is not far away, as happens at the time of general planting, at the end of the harvest, and upon returning to town, they come back bringing their fire with them, as I have seen on repeated occasions. But as today civilization has penetrated and the match has become common, even the Chiriguano will save up one medio, or ten centavos, to buy such a useful combustible, which they use very sparingly, because in their hands this is now a luxury and lends them an air when in a gathering of companions they can bring out and show their box of matches while lighting a maize-husk cigar.

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When a fire happens to go out in a place where it is difficult to get it from distant houses, the Chiriguano is not too worried. The man is almost never without a flint, tinder, and a piece of steel; these implements are used to obtain new fire. The tinder is prepared by them from a boll of wild cotton or the flower of the samuu, which they reduce into a skein of thread and put into a cow's horn, which they clear at the wider end, fitting to it a wooden stopper that they keep down with a small wire or agave string; inside the tinder box it extends to the other end, where they make a small hole in order to be able to pull the wire or string and keep the top on tight.

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The Indian who does not have all this apparatus does not worry much either. If his fire happens to go out, he makes a small conical hole in a piece of well-dried wood, in which he violently spins a small cylindrical stick, also dry, which does not take long to get hot and then to give off sparks of fire, to which he then applies the tinder, which consists of the dry pith either of the agave or of the /178/ maguey, which when it has taken fire will light any other combustible material (1).

[973]

1. When the toad handed over fire to the two

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352 The peculiarity of the Chiriguano cots is that they are almost always shorter than the persons who must sleep on it; most of them measure one meter 60 centimeters. They perhaps have [513] this peculiarity because they sleep curled up like pigs in order to hold together better the little clothing or blankets that they [178] possess. Today they are beginning to make them longer and [237] to have cots like the whites use; the open part of the latter is closed with cowhides which they attach first lengthwise and then at the sides, equidistantly about every seven or eight centimeters, with many small squares being the result (1).

1. The cots which are made with split agave sticks are soft and preferred; in the Ivu Mission almost all make them of this material.

[574] The Chiriguano man does not like to sit on the ground either;
[576] when he is visiting, it would be an insult to make a man sit on
516 the ground; nevertheless for a gathering of friends they do sit
352 down where they wish and stretch out like dogs in the sun. For
322 the reception of visitors they have crude seats. They are of
[574] wood and called Apica. There are some with two places and up to four with their respective dividers; there are some for [412] men and even for children. They are of a single piece, and they are made by dint of much patience by hollowing them out with an ax. The tree should be a thick one so that the seat may have a little height and the occupant may not cut a ridiculous figure of a punchinello or clown, causing laughter [438] among the onlookers. They also use benches and chairs like [439] those of the whites; they make the latter for their own use [824] and to sell to their fellows and to the whites. The wood which they seek out for these labors is zacharrosa, because it is soft and easily worked with the tools that are available to the poor Chiriguano, who does not always have an adze and a chisel.
352 Some people also have /181/ hammocks, Quiha ó inni, but they are so old and black because of the action of the smoke that they arouse disgust (1).

524 1. For a children's game they hang in the

/185 cont./

291 The Cutama, which I have mentioned, has been replaced
286 by the Tipoi of the same form as the former, but made of
[178] chintz, blue drill, linen, merino wool, or corduroy; they also weave covers for their beds, but these are without colors, and an occasional man has a crude loom, like those they use in Europe with a comb, manufactured by themselves (1).

291 1. The Mandu is attached to both shoulders by means of two large silver pins which correspond to the luxury of the garment; on ordinary days they pin the Tipoi with large thorns, but these have been replaced by needles, pins, and metal clasps.

462 Other tasks of the women are carrying water, maize, and field produce for the kitchen and making chicha and algarroba mead, which we shall discuss below, putting an end to this chapter for now.

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Chapter Seven

Chiriguano Clothing and Adornments

Introduction

/The first paragraph on p. 186 is omitted in the translation. Page 186 continues as follows./

Clothing, which should remind us of the fall of our first parents, their misfortunes, their sufferings, hardships, and their death, our hardships, misfortunes, and death as a consequence of that disobedience, is today used as an object of extraordinary luxury. All of humanity has converted clothing into an object of vanity, and there is no nation, no tribe, however abject it might be or might consider itself, which has not abused or is not abusing clothing and adornments. /The last paragraph on p. 186 and the first paragraph on p. 187 are omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 187. The remainder of page 187 follows./

/187 cont./

301 302 [199] buy in the store, so active since the founding of the missions. The Chiriguano with his vigorous head of hair and his red Yapicuano /168/ walks very proudly and shows off both things at feasts in the presence of his companions ( ).

[199] [114] [121]

1. An interested party once said that the mission in Yumbés had no purpose because the Indians were civilized. I am sure that this is not true, because the explorer who wants to learn the old customs of the Indians can study them better there than anyone else today. There they wear long hair, the tembeta /lip plug/, and balaca, or band, from childhood.

291 294 285 To cover the head they do not all wear a hat. The latter is woven by them themselves with palm leaves. Carandaí: they bring them from the places where they are abundant. Carandaiti, pull out the whitest shoots /cogollos/, take them to their houses, then string them one by one on a long cord, which they make of the same palm, tying them to each other. They hang them there and the action of the air whitens them much more. Then they divide each leaf of three or four shoots into leaflets no larger than 2 1/2 centimeters and begin to weave at the crown, where they form a cross with these leaflets, which they then keep weaving, and, as one ends, they add another, and when the work reaches the edge or brim, they stick the ends in so that the hat will not come undone, pull strongly, cut off the ends, and a round hat has been finished.

Others form long strands one centimeter wide and sew them to one another with cotton thread, and these hats are imperfect 292 564 cones lined with black or red cloth. They are used by older Indians, those of importance, caciques and sorcerers (?).

291 302 304 178 2. The Quichua /Quechua/ always with his cap, the Chiriguano is abandoning the custom of long hair, the lip is pierced for the tembeta in few places now, and the straw hat is being

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replaced by the cloth one, although it costs a great deal; the customs of yesteryear are now disappearing, and those of today, or of the whites, are penetrating rapidly.

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[831]

For the Chiriguano virility consists of a vigorous head of hair; nevertheless, although he prizes hair on his head, he never allows any other hair on his body, except that of the eyelashes and eyebrows, which he forms into arches. He pulls out the rest of the hair on his face and body with his Tendivaha poha, or tweezers. These consist of some little pieces of tin or a piece of cane slit down the middle, and sometimes a knife. With great patience and bit by bit he pulls out or cuts off all the hair that appears on his chin, thus looking like another woman. Others who are called /illustration appears here/ /189/ rich pull out their hair with thin pieces of silver, which they call Mboivera (1).

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1. During my stay in the territory I saw only one Indian who had a thick beard, but because of this uncleanliness he was considered disgusting. When the hairs grew, he cut them with scissors. Today the young men are beginning to wear mustaches and goatees, and many shave with razors.

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The ancient Chiriguano clothing was very simple and too immoral, as is still seen among those Indians where the civilization of the Cross has not penetrated, such as the Chacobo north of Santa Cruz and others in the Bolivian Chaco. Boys go about naked until the age of ten or twelve, and girls up to seven, at which age they are content to cover the most delicate part of the body because of a trace of modesty which exists among them. Even grown men make use of this most simple garment when they are in the country busy at work or when they are returning to town loaded with firewood or food.

[Text Continues on P 260]

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/192 cont./

Adornments

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/The first paragraph of this section, pp. 192-193, is omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 193, and the remainder of p. 193 follows./

181 The Chiriguano, although they occupy a very lowly place in this corner of the world, although they have little in the way of grandeur and show to display and take pride in, follow the common tendency of humanity, almost as the beast follows its instincts. Without any fear of error, if the Chiriguano were to possess great riches, he would probably invest them in his vices and in the adornment of his body.

302 [292] [594] When the Chiriguano wants to make a formal visit, he washes his body, dresses in his best clothing, and paints his face with achiote powder. The preparation of achiote seeds has been described in the preceding pages in the discussion of the flora /see p. 32/. Here I add that in order for the Urucú to be fixed on the Indian's skin it is necessary that he first soften his face, or the part that he wants to paint or embellish, with palma Christi oil.

751 302 It has already been seen that the region is hot and that atmospheric changes are very sudden: a period of extreme heat can be followed by severe cold, and in these changes the Chiriguano's skin becomes chapped. To avoid this nuisance, men and women paint their faces and their feet with the cosmetic. [527] [758] They also use it during public drinking sessions, at banquets, and during the preparation of chicha in order to ward off the high heat, as well as during convalescence and after having recovered from smallpox (1).

1. Achiote powder with palma Christi oil is cool in hot weather and warm in cold weather. The neophytes in the missions no longer use it, or, if they do, it is sparingly and as a remedy. [198]

[Text continues on p. 267]

/194 cont./

302 The flower of the Guambero, purslane, has the same properties as the caraisapa, but it is little used, and they content themselves with just sticking the leaves on their faces, and this only at carnival time, the result being a gay set of dancers. Finally, the Indians have a fourth cosmetic, which they call Mboiuucu, or achiote of the viper. It is red, and they assert that it is food for the viper, hence its name. They use it by rubbing it on their cheeks, which makes them a bright red.

292 [527] [178] As noted above, the ancient Chiriguano man, Ava, and the Chiriguano woman of long ago, Cuña, at solemn fiestas and on days /195/ of general rejoicing, after having adorned their faces and washed their persons, wore the tiru and the mandu, respectively (1).

1. If the Indian dressed in a tiru does not have breeches, guarupi timbiao, he wraps his body from the waist down with a shorter poncho which comes to the calf. It is also of cotton, and the women weave it. It is called Tirupeé, or sheath that warms, "alias" wrap /abrigo/. [284] [462]

The Tiru is a kind of long poncho, from which it differs because of the two openings that it has near the wrists: the hands are put into said openings and remain free for movement, and, the tiru fastened to the wrists, nothing impedes the motion of the one wearing it. It is spun and woven by the women, and the raw material is cotton. The tiru differs in color, some are black, others dark red, and others blue. The first color is obtained with black mud, Tuñúú, mixed with the resin of the algarroba, Piari; the second, with sotillo bark, Urundeibuu; and the third, with wild indigo, Caogüi (2). [286] 292 386 [824]

2. Today this is all purchased commercially, and the indigo plant, which is abundant in certain places, is ignored. They buy the indigo and the other colors, just as they buy for their poncho and their tipoi. [439] [178]

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292 386 824 The black tiru is first dyed with sotillo bark, and then they immerse it in a vessel which has well-steeped black mud and algarroba resin. After some time they wash it and dry it out, leaving the permanent color. The dark red is made with only boiled sotillo bark. Finally, to dye with indigo they crush this leaf and expose it to the sun's rays, then they crush it again in the same way, after which they put it in a large earthenware vessel with water, in which the tiru is immersed and comes out a light blue, but, if they want it to be like the blue of drill, it is necessary to boil the indigo.

In order to dye everything red they also use a species of onion that they call Tupaipi, which literally translated, means fear of God and is abundant in the fields, and another 292 one called Chapi, which is found in the hills. Everything said about the tiru is applicable to the mandu of the women, with the sole difference that this is open at both ends and is attached to the shoulders with two enormous silver needles that they call Yu guasu, big needles, which are also disappearing.

301 302 [529] [515] When a woman is occupied with domestic and other work, she ties her hair up tightly with a band, Apicuá, /196/ of cotton or wool, so that it will not inconvenience her at her tasks, but when there is a fiesta, she washes her person, washes her head, combs her heavy and shining hair, and lets it loose, flowing over her body as far down as it will go (1).

• [178]

1. The young women today put up their hair like the white women, making braids through which they draw a band that they call Allopea, braided cord. The hair fastened in the old way was like a baton, since not a hair was to be seen, even horizontally, all of it being covered by the band, allopea.

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997 /305 cont./ Let the reader consider that the work of the missionary, who strives for and dedicates himself to the reduction of the Indian, would not amount to much if he could make light of immorality, a sin which God anciently punished with two floods, one of water and one of fire, thus manifesting His just indignation with these words: Non permanebit spiritus meus in homine, quia caro est.

595 With these inclinations not at all restrained, but instead fomented with the five physical senses and all the faculties of the soul, it is not strange that there should exist among the Chiriguano a tendency to very frequent bigamy and polygamy as a luxury or a sign of greatness. /306/ If not all have many wives, it is either because it is not easy to support them or because they are not easily found, because every woman would like to be the only mistress in her house (1).

> 1. In the house of a polygamist or bigamist, the one who gives orders and is in charge as mistress and manager is the eldest, as long as she anticipates her husband's thinking; since, as she knows his irremediable incontinence, in order not to lose her authority in the house, she advises a second and third marriage, etc., and then the master of all of these women imposes the respect due the eldest woman.

[643] Almost all regional caciques are polygamists, and they have a woman in almost every town of their dependency, without counting the eight or twelve that they have in the town where they live. Caciques can do this because they have 595 authority, although they do not give them anything. Formerly • 178 polygamy was much more extensive. It is not so now because [999] the race has been much reduced, and there has penetrated everywhere, if not the missionary, the Christian, who at times is a reproach for the lasciviousness of the carnal Eva.

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§43 §73 229 415 Near the time of giving birth, she carries less weight, prepares what is necessary, which consists of some cloth pads and her new little olla in which to cook the maize which she must eat boiled. If the olla were old or used, the newborn [153] would be subject to mal caduco, or epilepsy, and if a woman who has just given birth were to eat parched maize, her breasts would dry up and would not give milk for feeding the child.

§44 At the time of giving birth the only person left in the house is the midwife; the others, even the husband, go out, but he returns as soon as the birth has taken place, in order to lend some help to his wife and the midwife, who alone cannot attend to the newborn child and its mother, who fights with her very life against the pains, for which she is consoled at the sight of the fruit of her womb, which for a moment makes her forget her present suffering.

They at once cover with sand every trace of the event, wrap up with bands, cloths, or other things the body of the woman who has just given birth, and lay her on the ground face down, making her rest on a bed which has little or no resemblance to such, but as every Chiriguano woman is strong, she puts up with this as though she were in a featherbed.

§§ 45 46 Throughout the whole world birth is a very dangerous thing, and it is even here. The Chiriguano women also need considerable rest. When some old women were asked about the matter, they stated that childbirth formerly lasted almost two weeks, and they marvel that the neophytes get up so quickly, returning to their customary labors within eight days; they attribute this robustness to the lack of strict fasting in the years of puberty.

§46 /210/ It is consequently an error to state that puerperae go to the lake or river to bathe from the second or third day, much less on the same day as the birth. Natural reason would not allow the latter. There might have been some extraordinary case in which some woman walked immediately after giving birth, but it would not cease to be an extraordinary case. The [198] neophytes are abandoning the custom of their grandmothers and

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846 •178 slowly accepting that of the whites. They do not come out of the house until they are completely well, and they only do it on a Sunday morning. They then wear a new dress for the first time and present themselves at the door of the church to receive the post partum blessing (1).

> 1. I saw an extraordinary case, from which no illness resulted. They have been accustomed to the post partum blessing by the virtuous old mistresses, and they continue this.

846 845 302 Soon, in a week or two, the woman is completely well, and she is allowed to go out to bathe and paint her face with urucu, returning gradually to her usual tasks. Childbirth is 844 785 regarded by the Chiriguano as a time of fasting, in which some authors say that all the members of the family participate, but this is not true; only the husband shares this obligation, and he does it for two or three days (?).

> 2. They say that it is necessary for the baby's father to fast so that it may not die nor any harm come to it when it grows up.

797 785 844 178 The missionaries try to eradicate from the neophytes the superstition that is represented by the husband's fasting, but when their mothers see that their grandchildren are dying, they reprehend in their children the abandonment of the customs of yesteryear. I knew an old woman who was very attached to these customs and who tried in every way to force her son to fast, in view of the fact that the newborn babies died every time her daughter-in-law gave birth.

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885 195 her duties /226/ serve her companion in whatever he may wish, and henceforth in her answers she ceases to use the ũ ũ which children use and adopts the é é suitable for women.

885 591 The young woman, in spite of being scarcely 13 years old when she comes out into public life, and despite a slight embarrassment which she feels when first presented to society as a woman ready and suitable for marriage, little by little begins to lose this misgiving, very natural in girls, and acquires frankness in answering quite clearly persons who may question her, whoever it may be, always staying within the limits of morality. What is immoral will cause astonishment in her and perhaps embarrassment at the beginning, but she soon becomes accustomed to it, because she hears it in the house, she hears it at the drinking bouts, during the gatherings and parties. From hearing a lot of this, it begins to cause pleasure in her, which brings on a continual and loud laughter, since day or night the women laugh long and loud. This is usually a sure sign that in a gathering or party there is some gallant present who is giving free rein to his tongue (1).

1. Missionaries who know the language of the Indians and who find themselves at the beginning in a new mission may be astonished by the frankness with which boys and girls of 12 or 13 years answer them.

[827] The men state that their wives are better at enduring hunger and thirst. They attribute this to the strict fasting which they undergo at puberty, but the women say that the neophytes are stronger than they, because they go out sooner after giving birth.

881 • 178 In none of the missions do the maidens follow the custom of their mothers at the time of puberty. When the first signs appear, the only thing conceded to them is some three days leave for rest, and so that her mother may tell her, as should be done in analogous circumstances, to hide what must be hidden. When this short leave ends, they return to school as before, and continue their work without any inconvenience (2).

2. Many of these maidens, out of modesty,

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do not advise anyone of their puberty, even their mothers, and the consequences are sad in no few cases. They do not tell anyone because the older girls make fun of them.

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A single thing is noted in the missions, and it is that the neophytes, when they get to the age of about 30, stop having children. Perhaps this is because they marry very young, at

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about 16 to 20 at the latest. If it is true that the Chiriguano women of old were ready for marriage /227/ as soon as they came out of their hiding or fasting, the union which they contracted was certainly neither continuous nor for life with the same person. One or two months with one, then a rest until giving birth, afterwards again joining the same man, or perhaps she would seek out another if the first had become bored

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with her or she with him. But this does not happen in the missions: those who contract marriage do it for life, because it is a Catholic union and, as such, indissoluble, just as the natural marriage of the infidels would be, but the Chiriguano does not understand this, since in principle he wishes to be a hummingbird, coming to rest on many flowers and not stopping at any of them until he reaches a certain age.

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In the districts where the fasting lasted for a year, such as in Cuevo, before the town of San Juan Bautista and the Santa Rosa Mission were founded, after the first rigorous month the maidens were made to eat meat and beans also, and they were even allowed to drink a little mild chicha, so that they would not become too weak or die. If the chicha had turned sour, it would be prejudicial for later married life, producing the effects of which I have already spoken.

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Finally, to conclude such a delicate subject, let it be noted that at the present time the custom of such a rigorous fast for the female sex is observed in very few places: today the region is inhabited by the white race, which is making them understand that all this is superstition, because of the example of their daughters, who, in spite of the fact that they have done nothing of what has been said, live in perfect

/227 cont./
SP1 health, contract marriage, serve their husbands very efficiently,
• 198 and educate their children, who are born with all the perfection
199 of nature (1).

1. In the Chiriguano region, even in that part won by the missionaries of Pomo[?] after the year 1870, many maidens of the white race have contracted marriage, having reached a suitable age.

Imposition of the Tembeta

855 The education of the boy, as has already been seen, is the task of both parents. Up to a certain age it is almost exclusively that of the mother, and after the age of six or seven years, exclusively that of the father, who accustoms him to field chores, to hunting, and even to fishing in the areas where
226 462 there are large rivers. Fishing is done by the women in the little streams, and the men assist them in the diversion of the water and setting up two boundaries in the form of a \/, open to allow the water to pass through, a job they call Faiveeta.

58 [195] /228/ The time now comes for the boy to be a man and not a boy, the time to give up the ë ë of his affirmative answers and to adopt the Ta suitable for the Cuimbae, or man ready for everything. His father, his grandfather, his mother,
[304] 301 and other relatives make him understand that for this it is necessary that he show his companions the distinctive mark of
885 [554] the tribe, that is to say, it is necessary to have his lower lip, Tembe, pierced and to place in the hole the Tembeta, which for the Chiriguano is a sign of his manliness (1).

[192] 1. The tembeta is a word made up of tembe, lower lip, and ta or ita, stone, which literally translated, means stone for the lower lip, where it is put.

/[illegible] cane./

301 [304] The tembeta usually is a small round piece of tin with two little ears or handles on the sides which serve to hold it in the pierced lip. The circle of the tembeta is hollow up to near the surface of the handles a little wax is put in it, and other ornaments, such as cowrie or little light-blue stones of little value, are set in the wax. What is somewhat valuable is the itogũ, a small green stone in one piece which fills the entire hole of the tembeta. I have one of these, and its stone is fixed in place with a little prong of the same tin. The tembetas are also of hollow cane and of wood, but never of stone, as some writers have stated (2).

2. Though tembeta literally means lip stone, this does not come from its being made of stone; the literal meaning comes from itogũ, which is a stone. The itogũ is also set in those of wood.

• 179 30 The tembeta, already described, is relatively new. Before Christians and missionaries came into their country the tembetas were of wood, and they were of the same form as the [304] one, with all the ornamentation, but most people used a piece of hollow cane, especially when they were working. This is a little piece of cane cut at a node, which is thinner in the hole in order to be held in the pierced lip. In these there is neither ornament nor wax, because they are for the poor, and for the rich only when they are working.

301 [335] The itogũ had considerable value among the Indians, being worth a horse, a cow, a burro, etc., but, as I have already said, it was a relative value, since in Tarija, from where they brought them, their value was two bolivianos. From this it can be concluded that the itogũ is not found in [171] Chiriguano country. It owes its origin to the Incas or Quichuas /Quechua/, /[illegible]/ but it is the Chiriguano who work the tembetas, in which they set the itogũ, or green stone.

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648 464 466 It can be said with all certainty that the only laborer in the four provinces of Azero, Cordillera, O'Connor, and Gran Chaco is the Chiriguano, who is found even beyond Santa Cruz de la Sierra, where he also works, taken there by the authorities or by the owners of the lands, which they bought in ancient times for a trifle (1).

[425] 1. If one is to credit what the Indians say, in some places land was acquired by barefaced trickery /la raida/ at the time of Ferdinand VII: in other places, for three or four arrobas of cheese, and in the last ones, for a cow, a poncho, a few varas of cloth, or a few bottles of liquor given to the cacique.

• 178 [169] Today the Chiriguano, very abject, in many places suffers in resignation what, according to the story, he did not want yesterday; in other places he is migrating the better part of the time, that is to say, when his presence is necessary for the general planting, to which of necessity the old people must devote themselves if they want to live without dying of hunger and in order to be able to welcome the migrants when they return for a few days to show off their new clothing, their work from other regions, to sell it immediately for very little, to slaughter some cattle of their own or of their elders, and to go back at once without even saying good-by.

Property Rights

648 [241] The object of the present chapter is to describe the method of cultivating the land when the Indians lived alone in the country, before the whites had moved in among them; now they scarcely give them /238/ room to do their planting as best they can. Nonetheless, since they keep them continually occupied, food and clothing are never lacking to anybody in a Christian's house, where the Indian gets them

177 648

4: Nino--342 M-3 (1892-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/252 cont./

262 As very savory food there are also cicadas, ants, lizards, locusts, and some green worms which cause disgust just to name them. If a head of cattle dies and putrefaction has begun, the Chiriguano finds it excellent; give it to him and it is a grand gift, and that day is a carnival for him; he does not try to find out whether the animal died from the poison of a viper or rattlesnake or from rabies (1).

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1. When Indians bring home the meat of dead cattle well into a state of putrefaction, they boil it in ollas and throw away the liquid, and in this way it loses much of its bad smell.

262
178 I do not know whether it is through superstition or because they are descendants of the Jews that this tribe formerly did not eat the flesh of the pig; although they like and hunt the wild boar or the peccary, they did not touch the domestic pig, but today almost all of them, with the exception of some women, eat it.

261
262 The Chiriguano suffers in times of hunger or scarcity of food, but he looks for food in the earth; this is very harmful food, which produces various ailments, such as consumption and
[252] dysentery. He looks for the potato of the serpentine arum, ex-
[164] tracts it, and, making a hole, heats it, throws the potatoes there, and covers it with ashes and embers, leaving them overnight; on the following day he and his family eat, but it gives them a bad stomach-ache, which makes them throw themselves down with their bellies to the ground until the pain abates; the same potato, raw, is efficaceous for killing worms in the galls of animals.

[222] Another food in times of scarcity is the Caraguata; this
[252] is a kind of aloe with leaves without the oily liquid; the edible part is the roots, which have a flavor like mandioca; it is considerable work to pull them out of the ground, where they are firmly attached, and the mealy substance is /253/ little enough; to eat it, it is roasted in the coals or under the ashes. When it is the time for fruits and want threatens, the Chiriguano

/262 cont./

527 are gathering together all the people, shouting like madmen and making known their great joy. The lord of the fiesta has arranged beforehand that the morning reception should take place in one location and the afternoon affair in another, and in this way not only is there time to prepare, but there is also food every day for the outsiders and for those who are not outsiders.

In the afternoon, at four o'clock more or less, they eat again with more enthusiasm than before, because their happiness is greater and then, it will be understood, ex abundantia musti os loquitur. But great friendship and harmony prevail; then they sing a little more, one by one, and when the sun sets there is a general rest (2).

2. From the afternoon oration until two in the morning there is complete silence; at that hour the song begins anew, with dancing and drinking. Today, since the voice of the cacique is little heeded, there is no schedule.

[622] [178]

535 184 173

Mbapa páure

This dance is similar to a quadrille; couples execute it by making turns through the streets of the town, both day and night. According to what the Indians of Ivu say, the Mbapa páure is not general for the Chiriguano race, but peculiar to certain regions, and it is not more than a hundred years old. They even say that it had its origin /263/ at the foot of the Itácua mountain range in Cordillera Province and then spread there up to Menbirái and Choreti Guasu.

When the war of the cacique Yaveáu took place, the Indians of Güiracoti, living on the left bank of the stream of Cuevo, fled to the left bank of the Parapiti River, where they stayed and learned this new dance and song. Thus, when they returned to their lands, when Yaveáu, through having avenged himself excessively, had pardoned and forgotten the affront he had received, they brought back the novelty and began to introduce it into their towns.

/263 cont./

527 273 The fiesta of the Ayarise is an annual one, and it is always understood that the Indians have drink; thus in the general fiestas it does not end in one day; /264/ it lasts a long time until the chicha bottled in the vessels outside comes to an end; when this is finished, they repair to the large pitchers indoors, which are in reserve, like the reserve corps in a war. After eight or ten days the fiesta can be considered at an end, and then the ucau vaé with all his soldiers takes leave of the purumuncau vaé with thousands of thanks, congratulating him for the order which has been maintained, the joy which has reigned, and the abundance of food and drink prepared. On finishing the praises, the guest in turn invites his friend and all the people for a similar affair in his tribe, with the month and day immediately being set.

527 574

527 273 Thus does the Chiriguano fiesta end, leaving everyone content and satisfied. But it is repugnant to see them drink without resting; the surroundings of these places look as though they were flooded by rain, their bodies give off an unpleasant odor, their faces seem swollen, their eyes out of their sockets, their lips with the tembeta sag like a baby lamb's, and just to approach one of them or the place where they are drinking is the same as approaching a sewer, such is the fetidness! But the Chiriguano is very content and glories in the piglike state in which he finds himself, saying, Asagüipo, I am drunk, and when he is getting over his drunkenness, he confirms what a good state he was in. Poor beast! (1)

[178]

[797] [177]

1. Formerly, the intoxication of the Chiriguano was almost never complete; today, with the use of liquor, he frequently loses consciousness. Would that this harmful drink could be eliminated! The mission Indians no longer glory in their drunkenness; they say that they have been drunk, but not as an honorable act.

/267 cont./

[541] [177] [648] Don Antonio Menduiña, who had requested aid; he fought on bravely alone, helped by his soldiers from Azero.

Thus, even though it is not of Chiriguano origin, the carnival [178] is greatly celebrated here, so much so that it bears the name of Arete, fiesta, through antonomasia, and all the old fiestas are [461] [292] gradually disappearing, yielding to this one. For the days that this residue of paganism lasts, the Chiriguaño works almost all year in spite of the laziness that accompanies him; for it is he gladly helps the whites, receiving in exchange money to buy clothing for himself and his wife and children; and on those days all are on great parade, showing off luxurious garments of every form and color, garments which, to be sure, they do not dare put on /268/ during the other days of the year, neither for the Ayarise nor for the Mbapa páure.

[532] In such circumstances there is hardly any difference between blacks and whites; the men well dressed, and even the infidel women with garb adorned with gauze, fancy hats, and multicolored ribbon; the children cover their faces with masks which they have made beforehand by carving toborochi wood; young men prefer to show off on horseback, riding at a gallop, and others, such as the old people, amuse themselves by looking at the dancers and Agüeros /maskers/, for whom everything is allowed because it is carnival.

[541] [535] [527] By way of preparation for the big fiesta, or because one drinks and has fun, they make merry on the compadre and comadre days, and on Quinquagesima Saturday, all day, the maskers and dancers practice the dances that they call Aticu.

[532] On the next day from eight to nine they begin the carnival, dancing to the music of drums and flutes of hollow cane, and the one who is called lord of the fiesta is someone in disguise with a mask that depicts an old man with a white beard, usually mounted on a burro; the one who is thus disguised directs the fiesta, makes his speeches in each corner of the plaza, recommending harmony and happiness (1).

1. The principal man so disguised has subalterns,

StNordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

D. *Northern and Eastern Cultural Elements that occur among the Chiriguano and Chané.*

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The Chiriguano and Chané have a number of cultural elements that clearly reveal their connection with their kinsmen in northern and eastern S. America. The area of their distribution stretches like a wedge from the more tropical northern Bolivia between the Andes and El Gran Chaco proper. Several of these cultural elements, moreover, have a distribution that induces us to assnme that they reached the region examined with the Arawaks, i. e. the Chané. One such is, for instance, the india-rubber ball game. Several of them, such as the hammock and the seat, were familiar to both Chiriguano and Chané before they migrated to their present habitat. Those cultural elements that we may with more or less certainty assume to have been known to the Chiriguano or the Chané, or to both, at the time of their immigration, I have collocated in the table (22). Of course these Indians have several other cultural elements with a similar origin, though this cannot be proved from the material at our disposal.

In Table 22 there is scarcely any reference to clothing and adornments, owing to the fact that the Chiriguano and Chané have learnt much in this respect from the civilization of the bronze age and from the Whites. It is a characteristic trait for the Indian women to have clung to an older type of garment, — the tipoy.

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Most of the cultural elements the Chané and Chiriguano have kept from the time of their migration to these parts, are useful articles, such as household furniture and fishing tackle. But some of these things are of minor importance here, since their existence is not necessitated by external conditiosn: they are evidently suited to other natural conditions than those that obtain in these parts.

Ce
177

One can conceive that several of the cultural elements included in Table 22 did not reach the Chané and Chiri-

/159 cont./
In the village of Cuevo alone 60 out of 200 persons died within a short time. I visited the 140. They were as gay as ever. Spirits and beer were consumed in quantities.

Father Bernardino was never given credit for this work, but rather the medicine men, who had bewitched the sickness so that it would not come to Ivu. The white colonists, too, occasionally had the medicine men come in order to /Fig. 78 appears here/ drive away the sickness. They did not believe in the vaccine either.

With Ivu as the starting point, I made a trip into the

Fig. 77. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/6.

Igüembe valley, in order to visit the Chiriguano chief Maringay. It was a charming ride on horseback up on the high crests and down into deep valleys, through an often grandiose, colorful landscape. These valleys are poor in forests. Only in a well-protected ravine in which a brook trickles forth is the vegetation luxuriant.

I soon became very good friends with old Maringay. The old man was conservative, clung to the old customs, and felt that the Indians should be on good terms with the whites, but should preserve their old habits and customs unchanged. His village was extraordinarily interesting and very rich in old, fine things.

/170 cont./

The legendary figures and their experiences stimulate the imagination, are preserved and retold. The historical personalities and events are forgotten.

If one looks in Chané and Chiriguano houses, one finds many things preserved which are now no longer in use, /171/ but which they value as mementos of earlier times and often do not want to give up. For example, one sees handsome round pipes, "huiramimbi" (Ill. 80), which have undoubtedly been handed down from generation to generation. They were formerly used in connection with expeditions of war. Old Maringay had kept all kinds of things from olden times. It gave me great pleasure to rummage about in the old man's storage places. I wanted to buy something from him, but felt embarrassed to offer him money for his mementos.

I once found a bundle of fine, old, completely smoke-blackened arrow-points stuck into the walls. "Would you not like to sell them to me?" I asked my old friend hesitatingly. "You shall have three as presents," said Maringay. After this refusal I let him keep his cherished things.

Once I rode away from Vocopay's village in order to look up an old Chané who had an attractive old costume. After some hesitation he showed it to me. He had carefully wrapped it in other material. Like an enthusiastic museum official taking out an old gem, he unwrapped it carefully. One unmistakably saw how dear it was to him. Although I offered him a very high price, he did not want to sell it.

The fact that these Indians love their old keepsakes shows that they have a certain degree of culture. This is true only of the old people, however. The young ones are no longer like that; they sell everything without hesitation. What do they care about a worn-out old festival costume if they can get a red, fluttering scarf and trousers with jacket in exchange! The triumphal march of trousers across the world has also reached these valleys and plains.

The Chiriguano and Chané no longer carry on regular war with other Indian tribes. Occasionally, however, the Chané on the Rio Parapiti make raids on the Tsirakua Indians.

/173 cont./

Under the influence of the whites, however, the Chané and Chiriguano are gradually changing their huts, and many Indians are already building huts that are identical with theirs.

No hut here has its original Indian form. The genuine Chiriguano huts (the original Chané huts are not known) were very large; up to 100 persons lived in one house, and the entire /174/ village consisted of only a few large huts (1). These

1. Annua de la Compañia de Jesus. -- Tucuman y Perú -- 1596. Relaciones geográficas de Indias. Madrid, 1885. Vol. II. Page CIV.

evidently correspond to the large family houses well known in Brazil, which I saw in Bolivia only among the Chacobo, a Pano tribe from Lago Rojo-Aguado.

Even in Viedma's (2) time, at the end of the eighteenth

2. Viedma: loc. cit.

century, /Fig. 83 appears here/ however, they seem to have given up the original type of house and built smaller huts.

In many villages there belongs to each hut one or more maize granaries (Fig. 84a), in which maize, gourds, etc. are /175/ stored. These granaries are built on piles and are perhaps a reminder of the time when the Chiriguano and Chané lived in swampy regions. To each granary there belongs, as a rule, a ladder (Fig. 84b). Sometimes the granaries and the dwellings are built together into one house. /Fig. 84a appears here./ I saw such huts in the vicinity of Machareti and at Yatavéri, not far from Ivu. Not infrequently the granaries stand in the fields, far from the dwellings.

These villages are neat and clean. Huts and market place are swept daily and the refuse is burned.

The space in the huts is not too cramped. /176/ In each house, as a rule, there lives only one family, which, aside from the rest of the family members, sometimes consists of the husbands

/181/

Ce 462

	Men	Women		Men	Women
Decoration of calabashes	+		Raising animals. .	+	+
Building houses	+ (1)		Sewing	+	+
Weaving	+ (2)	+	Basketry	+	
Spinning thread .	+		Day labor for the whites . . .	+	+ (3)
Plaiting bands . .	+				

Ce [342] [842]

1. On the Rio Parapiti the Chané women gathered the material for the roof, that is, long grass.

2. Only in the case of Maringay.

3. Not important, actually only on the Rio Parapiti.

Ce [198]

If one compares this table with the one on page 94 /omitted in the translation/, one finds that heavy wood-carrying and the building of houses has been almost entirely transferred from the women to the men among the higher-standing Chané and Chiriguano. Strangely enough, certain industries, for example, the production of clay vessels, are women's work in almost every primitive Indian tribe. Similarly, the calabashes are decorated everywhere by the men, who also do all woodworking. The reason that the women too fish here is because a number of these Indians live on rivers with little water, in which only small fish live, and in catching them the courage and strength of the fisher are not put to any test.

Ce [171]

/210 cont./

When a girl has her first menstruation, she is put in a compartment in the hut, a sort of closet. Her hair is cut short, and she may not come out until it has grown medium long again. Accompanied by her mother she may go out and attend to her needs, for example, bathe, etc. Between the first and second menstruation she must stay on a diet. She may eat cooked maize and meal. The Chané call this custom "yimundia."

In a Chané village, Aguarŝti, I saw a girl who was sitting in such a closet. She was spinning. I peered into the closet, which was probably wrong of me, for on the next day girl and closet had disappeared.

P. Chomé (1) already mentions this custom in connection with the Chiriguano. He says the Indians believe a snake has bitten the girl.

When the girl emerges from this imprisonment, she is marriageable.

/211/ When the Chané boy is about 10-12 years old, his lower lip is pierced by a man particularly experienced in this. A small piece of wood is stuck in the hole. The boy must lie down for a day. His grandfather comes and tears deep wounds in his body, so that he will become brave in battle and a capable hunter. In the morning, when it is still quite cold, he takes him to bathe, so that he will become a proper man.

For one day the father may not consume anything, so that the boy will not become loquacious. This shows that the Indians do not like prattlers.

When the boy grows older, he receives in place of the small piece of wood a larger one, and when he becomes a man he may parade around with a large plug, "tembeta," in his lower lip (Fig. 79). This is supposed to be of wood in which pieces of turquoise and chrysocolla are set. Among the Chané and most of the Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembeta.

1. P. Chomé, p. 320. The same priest also speaks of the custom of the couvade among these Indians, p. 321. Lettres édifiantes /Edifying Letters/. Vol. XXIV.

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/211 cont./

Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembeta. The Chiriguano chief Maringay, who still respects old customs, has the lower lip of all boys pierced. Maringay is one of the old ones who say contemptuously: The "ava," the man, who does not wear a tembeta looks like a "cuña" (woman). To call men the insulting word "woman" is to insult them in Chiriguano fashion. The ones who are "ava" say of the Chané, who have small tembetas, "cuñareta" (women).

Nowadays most of the tembetas are made out of tin and pieces of glass by the whites in mountainous regions. Among those who have made them is the Italian Pablo Piotti. His work has even managed to get into European museums, without ever having lodged in an Indian chin. In former times the Chiriguano also had tembetas made of transparent resin (1).

1. P. Chomé: Lettres édifiantes. Vol. XXIV, p. 317.

If the Chané or Chiriguano boy wishes to marry, he sends the parents of the girl all kinds of hunting booty. Vocapoy /212/ told me that he places wood in front of their houses. If the wood is used, it means consent, if he finds the wood untouched, he is rejected. If he has been successful with the wood, he asks the mother of the girl for her. She then answers that she cannot know whether he will be a good husband who can provide food for his wife. In order to demonstrate this, he must serve his future mother-in-law for about a year. Thus, marriage is a sort of purchase.

The Chané and Chiriguano men go courting nowadays in the same way that they did 200 years ago (1).

1. P. Chomé, op. cit., 319.

The night before the wedding, the young man sleeps with his girl. The wedding is celebrated with a drinking bout, with no other ceremonies than much drinking of maize beer. The newlyweds receive good wishes. As a rule, the young people go on living for a while in the house of the mother-in-law.

/234/

Chapter Fifteen

Drinking Bouts among the Chané and Chiriguano

If a Chané or Chiriguano tells a legend, he often begins it thus: "A long time ago there was once a great drinking bout." If he reports something that happened, some illness of a relative or the like, he will say: "It was before or after the festival." Indeed, at these festivals one hears and sees most of what has remained of the old culture of these Indians. This is when the most beautiful clay vessels appear, this is when one sees costumes from olden times, this is when the stone ornaments are taken out of the treasure jars.

Among us a housewife is proud if she can show her guests beautiful tablecloths and fine porcelain. The Chané and Chiriguano women think the same way. At festivals each woman wants the maize beer at her house to be brought out in clay vessels more beautiful than those of her neighbors and to be served in calabashes that are more elegantly decorated than those of anyone else.

That is why, before each festival, the women are occupied with making clay vessels and the men with the decoration of calabashes. In the Chané and Chiriguano villages one sees magnificent collections of clay vessels. A few women in particular know how to paint these with superior skill and elegance. One almost never sees three jugs that are entirely alike. Each one tries to appear at the festival with something original, to paint something new and pretty. As far as linear /235/ ornamentation is concerned, they know how to vary the old ornamentation, but they do not know how or do not want to free themselves from them and open up new paths. The /Fig. 116 appears here/ Indian woman is conservative in her art and is able /236/ to free herself from the models of her mother's or grandmother's time only if she takes her motifs directly from nature and paints animals. By no means all the women in the villages are artists. There are some whom nature has endowed with the gift of art, and some true bunglers. Who can paint clay vessels as one of the wives of

Cc
/239 cont./
535 were used at their great festivals. In his opinion, the Chané used
532 masks before the whites came to the country. /240/ In addition
179 in those days they had around their legs
796 rattles made out of fruits and on their
[539] heads feather ornaments of parrot feathers.
[237]

Ee The Chiriguano and Chané
532 always destroy the masks after the
177 carnival. They are either burned
541 or thrown into the river. The Chané
535 call the masks "añañya."

e It is strange what a great
ce role the carnival now plays as a
541 festival among the Indians. This
177 undoubtedly comes from the fact
[464] that the whites distribute great quantities of spirits there and that the Indians who work for them are given a few days off at that time.

Ee Guests often come from a great
527 distance to the festivals. They appear
273 there in their finest clothing and orna-
292 ments, freshly painted and nicely
574 combed. Most of the old costumes
301 and ornaments, however, have already disappeared. Nevertheless one still sees women in home-woven clothing

e with necklaces of chrysocolla and
Ce turquoise. I never saw used, however,
[178] the silver diadem and the silver
e pins which belong to the festive attire.
412 One often sees the men's blue
237 costumes (Fig. 81) with silver chest ornaments preserved in the huts by the old people, but they

Ce are not used for the festivals.
535 Among the Chané in the Itiyuro
527 valley I saw the Indians dance at a cangui festival. Around a "yambuy"
273 of cangui stood a few old men in twos, singing a monotonous song
533

A B

Fig. 118. Soup spatulas. Chiriguano.
A = Tihuipa. 1/8.
B = Caipipendi. 1/6.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

seen any Chiriguano using this typical ancient Andean garment. Ponchos of the cloak type, and robes of the kind used by the Chaco Indians, on the other hand, I have seen worn by the Chiriguano men, who put them on against cold and wet. Formerly the Chiriguano men dressed in the »chiripa», which was a rectangular skirt that was fastened in front to a cord tied round the waist, then passed between the legs, and fixed to the cord above the buttocks. One may still see, here and there, some small boy wearing nothing but this primitive garment. On their heads the men often wear a broad, red turbanlike frontlet (fig. 194), and, when setting out on long marches, they put on their feet sandals, the straps of which bear distinct resemblance to straps on sandals that have been found in ancient graves on Puna de Jujuy.[1]

Fig. 195. Chiriguano boy with long, flowing hair. San Lúis, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

The women also possess sandals, but, like the men, generally walk about barefooted. The women's clothing consists of a loose-fitting, tubular garment made of woollen, or cotton, stuff. It is called »tipoy». The upper part of it is pinned together over the shoulders by means of cactus spines or metal pins, in the manner seen in fig. 190, which leaves the arms free, or the garment may be fastened under the armpits in the way the girl in fig. 194 is wearing it.

Nowadays the men mostly wear their hair bobbed, and with a frontal fringe (fig. 194), but I have seen boys, not fully grown, with long hair, hanging loose down (fig. 195). In former days all the men had long hair, which they gathered on the top of the head, where it was secured with a frontlet, a custom not yet quite discarded in some out-of-the-way parts of the country. The women let their hair grow long, give it a centre parting on the top of the head (fig. 190), plait it into tresses and tie it up, or allow it to hang loose. One may sometimes see girls with short hair (fig. 194), but in such cases the hair has been cut short as a sign that its owner has entered upon her first menstruation. On the death of a near relative it is also the custom of the women to cut off their hair.

Fig. 196. Wooden comb. Chiriguano. Bolivia. ½. Rikm. 03. 3. 899.

[1] Nordenskiöld (II), fig. 23; von Rosen (I), fig. 84.

[footnote 1 appears on p. 200 - - Ed.]

[P. 205]

CHAPTER VIII.

The Chiriguanos (2).

Industries. Cultivated plants. Hunting. Fishing. Vessels for food and drink. Intoxicants and stimulants. Music and dancing. Social order. Customs governing marriages, childbearing, illnesses, death and burial. Character and temperament. Belief in metempsychosis.

The Chiriguano are mainly an agricultural people, but they also do a certain amount of hunting and fishing. Maize is the most important of their cultivated plants, and it is very extensively grown by them. Many other Indian domestic plants are also cultivated, viz. pumpkins, sweet potatoes, beans, mani, cactus with edible fruit (Opuntia), tobacco, cotton, uruku (Bixa orellana), and a reed plant (Arundo donax) for making arrow-shafts. Of imported cultivated plants grown by the Chiriguano, I have seen melons, water melons, sugar cane and oranges. According to Nordenskiold, they also grow figs and millet,[1] these latter of course also having been introduced by the whites. Nowadays, European spades and hoes are used for loosening the soil. Among wild-growing food plants the algarrobo tree (Prosopis alba) is, to the Chiriguanos, the most important one. The Indians also prepare from the fruit of this tree an intoxicating drink to which they are much addicted.

The Chiriguano lárder does not to any great extent depend on hunting the game, but formerly hunting must certainly have been an important source of subsistence. Snaring is, nowadays, the 'only' method of hunting employed by the Chiriguano. The long-bow, the pellet-bow, slings, bird-nets and clubs are still occasionally used in hunting.

In olden times the Indians were good shots with the bow and arrow, and, according to Lizarraga, they then used bows the height of a man.

[1] Nordenskiöld (18), pp. 93 and 94.

/3 cont./ Although many primordial customs of the Chiriguano have been lost because of the influence of the missions, there have nevertheless been preserved a sufficient number of native objects to make a relatively complete ethnological collection among these Indians.

The Izozó, having abandoned their homes in the regions of the lower Parapití River during the Chaco War, had been provisionally moved to the environs of the fort of Toledo and the fort "15 de Agosto," where they were living in ranchos abandoned by the soldiers. In the environs of the forts they had scratched out large fields for their plantings, but, because of the great drought, they had had no chance to plant, with the result that part of them had already returned to the western region when I was in these forts. When I began my return from Macharetí, a large part of them were near the fort of Carandayty. According to the data kindly given me by the Toledo military authorities, the number of Izozó who had come to Toledo and "15 de Agosto" up to June 30, 1935, reached 1,647 adults, 726 minors, and 122 small children, a total of 2,493 souls. On August 24, the end of my stay in Toledo, there were in this fort and in "15 de Agosto" only 503 adults, 141 minors, and 26 small children, most of them having returned to the west by this time.

These Izozó Indians, who speak a dialect of the Guaraní language, indignantly reject the name Chiriguano. They say that they are Guaraní and Paraguayans and that their name is Izozó. Up to now I have not seen this name in ethnological literature and it does not appear in Moreno's work, Cuestión de Límites con Bolivia /Question of Boundaries with Bolivia/, Vol. II. Only on the map of Bolivia drawn by the engineer Franz Germann (Hamburg, 1904) is there noted between the Río Grande and the Río Parapití the name "Izozeños." The Izozó near Toledo told me that their homes were in the region of the estuaries of the lower Parapití. Since these Indians rejected not only the name Chiriguano but also the name Chané

/11 cont./

C. Gi 175 178 167 The preceding historical sketch has shown that we can ascertain the history of the Chiriguano by means of numerous documents over a period of 400 years, up to that epoch so important for their future fate and culture, during which they emigrated from their native country and settled in a distant region. In this new country they found completely different conditions of life. All three factors by which all human life and all human culture are influenced and conditioned, nature, social state, and the spiritual culture of the ambient, were different in the new surroundings, and for that reason during the four centuries of their history they had to modify their primordial culture, which they had brought from their native country.

C 178 [126] The products of their present-day culture, dealt with in this publication by means of the ethnographic collection that I brought from Machareti and Toledo, must be regarded as the result of numerous and different interacting factors. Some of the products of the old culture were kept in a fairly primordial form up to today; others were modified, either being perfected or in some cases degenerating. Many were completely lost because of the modified circumstances, and some were added as a result of the assimilation of outside cultures.

C. Gh 177 174 C [113] As we have already said, the question of the influences on Chiriguano culture has been extensively dealt with by Erland Nordenskiöld (43). While the Chiriguano received relatively

43. Nord. 2, pp. 195-213. Cf. Alfred Métraux: "Etudes sur la civilisation des indiens Chiriguano /Studies on the Culture of the Chiriguano Indians/," Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. Tucumán. Vol. I, No. 3 (cited in what follows as Métraux I), pp. 299 and 300.

/15 cont./

342 171 "In 1627 the Jesuits found near Yapeyú a Guaraní aldea with four houses in which some 100 Indians lived. They found identical dwellings in San Ignacio and nearby regions. These houses were quadrangular and extremely long, often in excess of 50 meters."

361 177 178 Even during the time of their independence the Chiriguano had departed from the primordial construction of their towns, which had served in the first place for defense, since at the end of the 18th century Viedma describes their houses as "a few small ranchos made of cane" (61).

[113]

61. Viedma, Francisco de: Descripción de la provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra /Description of the Province of Santa Cruz de la Sierra/. Colección Angelis. Vol. 3, Buenos Aires, 1836. written 1793, p. 181. Cited by Nordenskiöld.

000 Photographs of Chiriguano Towns (ténta) and Houses (o)

I.C. 353. Chiriguano town, Machareti (Fig. 1).
I.C. 355. Scene in the town of Machareti (Fig. 17).
I.C. 356. Chiriguano in front of their house in Machareti (Fig. 14).
I.C. 357. Chiriguano storehouse in Machareti (Fig. 16).
I.C. 358. Chiriguano boys in front of their rancho in Machareti (Fig. 15).

361 [197] [363] [177] The Chiriguano town of Machareti was built in its present form by Franciscan missionaries, with wide, parallel, and right-angled streets, following the common form of old Spanish colonies, since their construction is not a product of the indigenous Chiriguano culture. But in parts, the houses and [343] primarily the maize storehouses built on posts, correspond to the houses of other Chiriguano towns, on which we have information from Erland Nordenskiöld and Eric v. Rosen (62).

62. Nord. 1, pp. 173, 176. Nord. 2, pp. 1-3. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 191 and 192, Figs. 188-192.

/22 cont./

352 513 [251] The Chiriguano generally sleeps on a kind of cot (catre), that is, a bed frame made of cane. Such beds, which in addition to their own purpose also serve for drying maize, have been represented in drawings by Eric v. Rosen (95), Erland

95. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., p. 190.

[174] [178] v. Nordenskiöld (96), and Métraux (97). No doubt /22/ the

96. Nord. 2, Fig. 2.

97. Métraux 1, Fig. 125, p. 470.

cold climate of the region to which the Chiriguano had emigrated made them abandon the use of the hammock for sleeping, not very practical for such a climate, and replace it with the cot, which was already common among the tribes of those regions. Lacking a cot, the Chiriguano sleep on the ground. [232] [324] [126] [329] In that case they use for a bed large mats made of cane or palm leaves, or also hides (98). I acquired from the Chiriguano one

98) Nord. 1, p. 177. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 200. Métraux 1, p. 470.

such mat plaited out of palm leaves (Fig. 96).

Chiriguano Mat (tipa) in the Collection

I. A. 540. Length 1.75 m. Width 1.50 m. (Fig. 98).

352 [7] [126] In some Chiriguano houses I also saw wooden benches (apika), but unfortunately I could not acquire a specimen. Those benches in the form of a sled are very similar to the kind of benches that are very common among the Indians of Brazil (99) and those that we also know from the ancient

[113] 99. Cariy /sic/ von den Steinen: Unter den

/23 cont./

Naturvölkern Zentralbrasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/, Berlin. 1894. p. 286.

Peruviana (100). Nordenskiöld and Métraux show such

100. Max Schmidt Kunst und Kultur von Peru /Art and Culture of Peru/, Berlin. 1929. p. 436.

Chiriguano teaches in drawings (101).

101. Nord. 1. Fig. 85. Métraux 1. pp. 471 and 472 and Fig. 129.

Painting and Deformations of the Body

As the use of clothing has increased among the Chiriguano and Chané, the custom of painting or tattooing the body has naturally lost importance and the remnants of such customs are too few to be able to say what they were in the past. Nor do we have data on this. I often saw Chiriguano and Izoseño women and girls paint themselves with urucú, making colored spots on their faces. According to Nordenskiöld, men and women sometimes paint their faces, as well as their bodies, with red paint (102). Nordenskiöld also found tattooing on

102. Nord. 1. p. 302.

the arms of some women and one Chiriguano man (103). The

103. Nord 1. p. 302. Nord. 2. p. 63. Fig. 27.

custom of dyeing the teeth with dark blue was found by

St Schmidt--69 E-5 (1930) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF3

/37 conc./

Men's Hair Bands Woven out of Human Hair

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These bands woven out of human hair correspond, with regard to their manufacture, to the bands that the Chiriguano and Chané make today in great numbers to sell to the whites. These "fajas," as they are commonly called today, represent an article eagerly sought by the whites who are in contact with these Indians, and especially by the soldiers, who wear them as a belt. One of the two Chiriguano men shown in Figure 6 wears such a faja as a belt, and, because we can surmise that today this is their principal use among the Chiriguano as well, we shall deal with them in the following chapter devoted to the description of clothing.

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Straw Hat (*kandúa* of the Chiriguano

I. A. 504. Diameter 30 cm. Height 12 cm. (Fig. 90.)

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The technique of this hat plaited out of palm-leaf fibers is not native since it is of modern manufacture. As Figure 9 shows, the Izozó men also wear such hats.

Caps Made with Crochet Hooks

I. A. 442 and 443. (Chiriguano.) Made of Wool. Height 15.5 cm. and 14 cm., resp.

These two crocheted wool caps, which I obtained from the Chiriguano in Macharetí, must also be considered as of modern manufacture.

Chané SF8
Izozo

Ce 322 412 171 /28 cont./ The main difference between the Chané combs and the combs of the Chaco tribes is that the teeth of the latter are made of little sticks of cane, and the teeth of the former, of little sticks of any other kind of wood. The /29/ wooden teeth of the Izozó comb in our collection are between two flat little sticks of cane vertical to them, and on the handle end, between the little sticks whose lower parts form the teeth, shorter little sticks have been inserted, so that at the lower part of the comb there is a certain distance between the teeth. The lacing, consisting of cotton threads, covers the upper part of the comb as far as the edge, but also slightly covers the lower part which forms the teeth. The lacing is not secured with wax.

Ce 322 412 Ce [284]

Ce Ce 302 824 With respect to hair care, we still must mention the data of Nordenskiöld and of Métraux (127) /see footnote 127 above/ to the effect that the Chiriguano and some of the Chané rub their hair with "Nyantéra" seed ("ñitira," according to Métraux), and the Chané of the Parapití with the rind of the mistol /Zizyphus mistol/, "yuag."

From Father Lizárraga's description (128), we know that

128. Moreno II, p. 101.

Ce 302 178 [171] the Chiriguano and Chané in the past plucked out the hairs of the body, except from the head, as do most of the Indians of South America. Father Lazatraga /sic/ says that the Chiriguano plucked out their eyebrows and eyelashes. This custom does not exist today, and the photographs of nude Chiriguano men shown by Lehmann-Nitsche (129) show that today as a general

129. Lehmann-Nitsche, op. cit., Fig.

rule they do not remove hair from the pubic regions. Also one meets today some middle-aged men who have mustaches, such as the cacique of the Izozó shown in Figure 10 and some of the Chiriguano men shown in drawings by Lehmann-Nitsche (130).

130. Lehmann-Nitsche, op. cit., Plates VIII-X.

C Ce /29 cont./
412 Because of this change the implement for plucking hair, con-
301 sisting of small tweezers, formerly very common, has naturally
302 lost a great part of its importance today, and similarly, in its
178 transformed state as a chest ornament, it is rarer. I found such tweezers among the Mataco and the Churupí. Unfortunately I did not succeed in acquiring such tweezers or the corresponding chest ornament, called "boivera" also by the Chiriguano. Nordenskiöld describes these tweezers in detail (131),

131. Nord. 2, pp. 81 and 82.

and he adds that the Chiriguano also use small sticks of cane to pluck out hair.

C The form of these tweezers made of metal corresponds to
412 that of the tweezers known through finds made in the burials of
301 the ancient Peruvians. Today these tweezers are normally
171 made of any piece of tin plate or sheet iron, which, when provided with a cord, they use for chest ornaments, besides their original purpose. This custom of using tweezers as a chest ornament was very common among the ancient Peruvians. Among the latter's necklaces there are many that, apart from other things, consist of silver tweezers. It was customary among the ancient Peruvians that these enlarged tweezers, unsuitable for their original purpose, be transformed into a pure and distinctive ornament. The Museum of Ethnography in Berlin has such ornaments in the form of depilatory tweezers, made
C of copper, silver, or gold, in great number, one example of
301 which is 52 centimeters in length (132). Therefore I suppose
[174]
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132. Cf. Max Schmidt: Kunst und Kultur von Peru, Berlin, 1929, pp. 83, 369, 397, and 399.

we must deduce that the Chiriguano custom of using as a chest ornament a silver ornament in the form of one of those tweezers is due to ancient Peruvian influence. There are several specimens of the "boiveras," now rare and doubtless most of the time carefully kept from the view of the whites, in

8: Schmidt--78 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

/32 cont./

C 291 I have already mentioned fajas, used today as belts by the Chiriguano men, in the chapter on cutting and combing the hair and head ornaments. I shall deal with their manufacture and decoration in the chapters on the technique of weaving and art.

Fajas (Izozó: kuakuá in the Collection

C Ee 291 [126] I. A. 428-441. (Chiriguano.)
I. A. 738, 803-807. (Izozó.)

Only the Izozó faja I. A. 738, shown in Figure 414, which measures 1.30 m. long and 3.7 cm. wide, differs with respect to the technique of its manufacture and its decoration, which we must attribute to outside influences, from the other fajas collected among the Chiriguano and Izozó. These correspond to one another quite minutely with respect to their dimensions, the weaving technique, and the ornamentation. Moreover, these Izozó fajas have been woven exclusively of cotton and the Chiriguano fajas have been woven exclusively of wool, with the exception of one (I. A. 434), whose warp contains not only cotton threads, but also wool threads. All these fajas are more than 2 m. long. The longest of the Chiriguano fajas measures 2.86 m.; the longest of the Izozó, 2.70 m. The width of the Chiriguano fajas varies between 8.5 and 16 cm., and that of the Izozó ones, between 10 cm. and 19.5 cm.

C Ee [178] The women and girls, much more than the men, have preserved their original garb, which consists of a "tipoy." As the photographs in Figures 3, 4, 8, 12, and 14 show, the modern shirt or jacket made of modern material has often been added to the tipoy, but has not replaced it; the wife and three daughters of the Izozó cacique shown in Figure 12 are wearing the tipoy, as are almost all the Chiriguano women shown in Figure 4. Certainly most of the time the tipoy is used as a skirt, the upper part being rolled over the hips like a long belt.

Chané SF8
Izozo

Ce 411 126

/40 cont./

I. A. 747. (Izozó.) Length 0.97 m. Iron point; its length 24.5 cm. Cane shaft. Remnants of feathering.

I. A. 748. " Length 0.94 m. Iron point; its length 23.5 cm. Cane shaft. Without feathering. Fig. 37 f.)

I. A. 749. " Length 1.07 m. Iron point; its length 23.2 cm. Cane shaft. Without feathering.

I. A. 750. " Length 0.835 m. Iron point; its length 17 cm. Cane shaft. Without feathering. (Fig. 37h.)

I. A. 751. " Length 0.93 m. Iron point; its length 22.5 cm. Cane shaft. With feathering.

I. A. 752. " Length 0.92 m. Iron point; its length 27 cm. Cane shaft. With feathering.

I. A. 753. " Length 0.985 m. Iron point; its length 21.5 cm. Cane shaft. Perhaps with feathering.

C Ce 411 174 175

Of the seven Izozó bows, the first four on the list are good specimens made of hard wood and correspond in all details to the Chiriguano bows described by v. Rosen (187), except for

187. v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 206, 208.

their length, which is a few centimeters less than these. This difference in length is easily explained by the fact these Chiriguano bows were collected by v. Rosen in 1901 and 1902. It would be difficult today to find still among the Chiriguano bows as long as those which v. Rosen acquired 35 years ago. From Lizarraga's statement that the Chiriguano bows were of the same height as the bowman, it is evident that the bows of these Indians were formerly even longer than those described by v. Rosen. If, following Lehmann-Nitsche's somatic measurements mentioned above, we set the average height of Chiriguano men at 1.63 m., there is still a difference of 18 cm. between this figure and that of 1.45 m., which is the length of the longest bow among those collected by v. Rosen. We must consider this shortening of the Chiriguano and Chané bow,

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Chane SF8
Izozo

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/40 cont./ steadily progressing, a consequence of its degeneration resulting from its gradually falling into disuse.

The form of all the bows collected among the Izozó is the same, discounting the insignificant differences with regard to their length. The wood of the bow, which is approximately 3 cm. wide, is flat on the side towards the string and convex on the opposite side. To better fasten the bowstring, each of them is provided at its ends with a quite marked narrowing and always considerably shorter at the upper end than at the lower end. /41/ Three of these Izozó bows show, when not flexed, the reflex form already mentioned by v. Rosen with respect to the Chiriguano bows. The bowstring, made of twisted strips of animal hide, is fastened in the common manner used by South American Indians. By means of a noose with a knot, it goes around the narrowing of the upper end of the bow, while the loop at the lower end is made so that it can either shorten or lengthen the bowstring as necessary. Cf. Fig. 37, a and b /see p. 90/. In all these bows a large part of the string is rolled up as a reserve around the wood of the bow. Bow I. A. 757, whose wood shows cracks on the side toward the string, has wood reinforcements in two places, one of them consisting of a wrapping with thread and the other a piece of the skin of a cow's tail, which has been slipped like a sleeve over the wood of the bow. Cf. Figure 37 /see p. 90/.

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The three bows I. A. 758-760, made of light-colored wood, correspond in form to the others, but they are poorly made and appear to be cheap merchandise for trading. Bow I. A. 760 even has a cable wire in place of a string.

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The small Chiriguano bow I. A. 518 is a bow made for children for shooting light arrows with a wire point, which have been enumerated in great number in the above list.

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The length of the arrows I collected among the Chiriguano and Izozó is somewhat behind with respect to the length of the corresponding bows. The longest among them is a Chiriguano arrow for shooting birds, fitted with a club rather than a point, with a length of 1.11 m. Among the arrows fitted with iron

8: Schmidt--108 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

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the earth of the salt licks called "yukiu" (214).

214. Nord. 1, p. 189. See Métraux 1, pp. 359 and 360.

Making Fire

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Native implements to make fire are little used today by the Chiriguano and Chané. At home fire can generally be obtained from some other piece of burning wood, and for other occasions they commonly provide themselves with modern matches. Moreover, as I have said, the Chiriguano and Chané are not great smokers. One fire-making tool which is still found among them is the strike-a-light. The specimen I acquired from the Chiriguano is different from the strike-a-light of the Chaco tribes in that the tinder consists of a quite thick cotton wick. According to Métraux (215),

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215. Métraux 1, p. 253.

there is also found among them the common form of strike-a-light in which the tinder consists of the fuzz of the fruit of the palo borracho (Chorisia insignis) kept in a container made of a a cow horn or armadillo tail.

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Fire-making Implements in the Collection

I. A. 516. (Fig. 40.)

a. Bag woven of cotton thread as a container for the implements.

b. Wick of cotton thread.

c. Receptacle for the lighted end of the wick, made of the nest of a species of wasp.

d. Piece of a modern metal file.

e. Pieces of flint.

Ce /56 cont./
323 paint on the rim, which is done with the resin of the palo santo
824 (Bulnesia sarmienti), which is spread over the surface of the
386 vessel after it has been baked (253).

253. Nord. 1, p. 246. Nord. 2, p. 144.
Métraux I, pp. 386 and 387.

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324 Working of Stone and Metals

The manufacture of stone implements is not done among the
C Chiriguano and Chané. The same can be said with respect to
Ce the manufacture of metal implements, except that the Chiriguano
325 sometimes make their tembetá of tin themselves (254), while
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254. Nord. 2, p. 171.

41 they ordinarily obtain their metal ornaments and implements from the mestizos and the whites.

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322 Woodworking

[417] Various objects made out of wood by the Chiriguano have already been mentioned above, such as house posts, ladders, plates, spoons, pipes, bows, arrow points, and also cuyas /vessels made out of gourds/ and calabashes. Among other objects made of wood we must also mention the mortar and pestle, various implements used in weaving, small sticks for making nets, large
C dishes used for keeping food, and flutes. Because the Chiriguano,
[177] when they work wood today, exclusively use modern tools ob-
[178] tained from the whites, they have not retained any of their native technique. /Plates XXII-XXV appear here./

8: Schmidt--155 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
Izozo
Paressi SP19

Ce 283 171 /60 cont./

form, many of them being similar in form to the whorls of the ancient Peruvians. Cf. Figures 89 and 90 /see p. 147/.

P 285 178

The Technique of Plaiting

In a legend told to me by a Paressí Indian in Mato Grosso, the appearance of a new epoch is discussed. The young generation of the Parassís /Paressi/ complains to the grandfather that they have now forgotton the manufacture of the bottoms of their different baskets, that is, the beginning and thus the rudiment of that work. The Chiriguano can make the same complaint to their grandfathers. They have also forgotten, as a result of the appearance of a new era, that is, as a result of their contacts with the whites, most of the elements of the art of plaiting, and imitations of European merchandise or of the plaited objects of neighboring Indians, less cultivated than they, are only poor compensation.

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Of the four principal types into which all the plaited objects of the Indians of South America can be classified with regard to their technique, which I have called in my publications which deal with them (259) "Stufengeflechte /step plaiting/,

259. Max Schmidt, Lehrbuch der Völkerkunde /Textbook for Ethnology/, Berlin, 1924, pp. 154-157.

Doppelfadengeflechte /double-thread plaiting/, Rohrstuhlgeflechte /caning/, and Geflechte in Spiralwulsttechnik /plaiting in coiling technique/," only the first two can be found among the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó. It is surprising that the fourth type (Geflechte in Spiralwulsttechnik) of plaited objects does not exist among these Indians, because this technique was the most common one in the mountainous regions neighboring Chiriguano territory.

C 285 177 /62 cont./

The technique of the small bag I. A. 512, which has a cover and corresponds in form to a modern cigar case, is of no interest to us, because this is a product of modern manufacture.

C Ce 285 178 Baskets I. A. 551 (of the Chiriguano) and I. A. 677 (of the Izozó) are of special interest because they represent the product of a new era in which the primordial devices of the technique have been forgotten and therefore they have lost the typical

C 285 171 forms of the products of those techniques. The making of this type of basket, which is widespread among the Indian tribes of South America, begins with the making of the bottom and ends at the upper edge of the basket where the free ends of the strips are /63/ fastened. If we compare the structure of the bottom of these Chiriguano baskets with the structure of corresponding baskets of other tribes of South American Indians, such as with the structure of the baskets of the Bacairí on the tributaries of the Xingú River (Mato Grosso, Brazil) or of the tribes of the Rio Negro, our attention is drawn to the great difference with

C 285 respect to the conformity of the work. In my above-mentioned publications (265) I have described this kind of basket in more

C [113]

265. Max Schmidt: Indianerstudien, loc. cit.; and Die technischen Veraussetzungen, pp. 157 and 158.

detail, and I have demonstrated that the special design which appears in two variations on the bottom of most of the baskets of this kind that are not yet degenerate is consistent with the technique, because only a bottom decorated in this way can be a proper beginning in order to form the walls of the basket. Moreover, there is the difficulty that for the fabrication of the four walls of one of these baskets one needs twice as many strips as the number of the free ends which come out of the plaited square or rectangle which forms the bottom of the basket.

C Ce 285 Therefore, the Indians who still know exactly how to plait these baskets plait in the beginning a flat rectangular piece twice as large as the projected bottom of the basket. Then the four edges of this rectangle are folded upward, in this

/63 cont./

C Ce 285 way serving as parts of the walls of the basket, the latter then being completed by plaiting the free ends of the strips with one another. By this device they manage to obtain a sufficient number of strips to form the walls of the basket. The Chiriguano and Chané of today are ignorant of this device and therefore they cannot make exact baskets of this kind. We do not know whether they gradually forgot the devices of their primordial plaiting technique under the influence of imported crafts or through the introduction of new ideas, or whether they may have imitated forms of baskets which they saw among other tribes of Indians without knowing the devices of the technique.

Ce 285 177 178

The bottoms and thus the rudiments of the two baskets I. A. 678 and 725a, shown in Figures 86a and 98b, are formed in a manner completely different from the bottoms of the two baskets described above. In making these baskets the Indians have availed themselves of the experience which they have had in the manufacture of the modern hat described above. Beginning the plaiting of these two baskets in the center of the bottom exactly corresponds to the beginning of making the hat, outside of the fact that the strips of the baskets, consisting of caranday palm leaflets, are wider and therefore the mesh is much larger. Where the side walls of the basket begin and more strips are needed than for the bottom, other strips are added, but, in contrast to the manufacture of the hat, by means of a kind of plaiting that joins the free ends of the original strips with the additional strips so that all together they are used to weave the sides of the basket. Also, the analogous baskets of the Chiriguano of the Caipipendi valley described and shown in drawings by Métraux seem to be strongly influenced by modern techniques (266).

266. Métraux. I, pp. 454-457. Plates 58-61.

Ce 285 One type completely different from the baskets described above is shown in the Izozó baskets I. A. 679-686. The plaiting of these does not begin at the bottom like the plaiting of the other baskets, but at the upper edge, and it ends with the making of the bottom. I have minutely described this type of

/82 cont./

Ee 53! Figure 33b, which corresponds, as does also the form of this flute, completely to ancient Peruvian models. Also, the surface of the Chiriguano cane flute I.A. 494 (cf. Fig. 34a /see p. 89/) shows some incisings.

One of the tattooed decorations is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld, who found it on a woman's arm (310).

310. Nord. 1, Fig. 108.

Social Conditions among the Chiriguano and Chané

Ce Ce 114 With regard to the social conditions among the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó, I am unable to add to the few data which we know on this subject because the situations in which I found myself when with these Indians were not appropriate for such investigations.

Ce 115 124 126 /83/ Among the Izozó whom I found in Toledo there were some who were designated as cacique. To one of these, who spoke Spanish perfectly, I owe the vocabulary of the Izozó language which I wrote down. I met the Chiriguano only in

C 114 197 622 Machareti, where they had lived for a long time under the supervision of the missionaries and, at the time of my trip, under the chieftainship of one of their own fellows who exercised the functions of a commissioner /comisario/. Two other Chiriguano Indians whom I met in Machareti were identified as caciques.

Ee 129 In order to complete my statements about the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó, I must make a resumé of what we know from the literature regarding the social conditions of those Indians, referring to Moreno's statements, which are based on old documents, as well as those of v. Nordenskiöld, which are based upon his own investigations.

Ee 178 648 643 000 Naturally, many of the old Chiriguano and Chané social institutions have been lost since they lost their independence from the whites. Also, the power of the great caciques has diminished appreciably since they have been dependent on the whites. When Nordenskiöld

/86 cont./

C 178 565 648 CC [178] [648] [643] The inequalities which formerly existed between the class of the Chiriguano themselves and the class of their subjects, which was for the most part made up of Chané, is no longer important today, since the latter were emancipated at the end of the last century, and they again have their own great caciques and ordinary caciques. Beyond the fact that the family to which the caciques belong has a certain preference (332) today, scarcely

332. Nord. 1, p. 230.

C 565 554 643 511 433 any difference exists today among the members of the same Chiriguano community with respect to their economy. But such C 184 433 476 478 178 a difference indeed exists among the various communities themselves, depending on the conditions of production in the different places. Also today, since the emancipation of the Chané, the work is distributed, more or less equally among the members of the community of the same sex. The great cacique and his wife take [643] [461] [476] [464] part in communal labor. Only a few Indians are exempt from this rule, and they are those who have accommodated themselves to the modern situation and send members of their own tribe to work as servants (333).

333. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 462 Inequality of practical importance exists almost solely between the two sexes, and especially with regard to the distribution of C [562] labor. With regard to the supplying of /87/ necessities, this inequality between the sexes does not appear, but only in the fact that the men and the women eat apart and the men in general eat first and women and children later (334). Nordenskiöld has

334. Nord. 1, p. 189.

made up an exact scheme of the distribution of labor between men and women (335) /there is no footnote bearing this number/. According to this scheme, the following work is apportioned only to men: hunting, planting and clearing, woodworking, twisting

/87 cont./

C 462 rope, making nets, plaiting mats and baskets, leatherwork, the manufacture of weapons, the decoration of cuyas and calabashes, and the building of houses. Only the following work is apportioned to women: carrying water, cooking, making fermented beverages, gathering fruits and roots, ceramics, making hammocks, spinning, and plaiting bands. The following work is apportioned to both sexes: fishing, with the difference that the women catch small fish in shallow water, while the men fish in deep water, planting and harvesting, cooking -- attributed in the preceding to the women -- in that men at times participate in the preparation of game, fetching firewood, which on most occasions is men's work, but among the Chané on the Parapití River women's as well, the raising of domestic animals, sewing and weaving, in that in some regions men also weave, although in general weaving is women's work. Children also participate, depending on their sex, in the respective work of their parents, particularly in the harvest (336) /there is no footnote bearing this number/, and in this way seeing and imitating, they learn from a very early age the work that they must do in later life.

C 462 [462] C 857 868 462

I have already mentioned in the chapter on towns and houses that Chiriguano towns were formerly made up of only a few houses, each of them inhabited by up to 100 persons. Today, as a general rule, only one family lives in each house, but often together with the husbands of the daughters, who live for a time before the nuptials and also during the first part of the marriage in the house of the mother-in-law (337). The Chiriguano clears

C 361 592 C 178 592 592 583 [591]

337. Nord. 1, p. 176.

a piece of ground for his daughter, one which the son-in-law can work, doing the planting and harvesting (338).

338. Métraux I, p. 345.

C 175 712 648 /89 cont./

only one way up, very narrow and steep, which, sown with thorny branches, made it more impenetrable. On the eminence of which they had entrenched the gate with stakes stuck into the ground."

Ce Ce 178 648 721 Today the Chiriguano and Chané no longer make war upon other Indians, aside from the fact that the Chané on the Parapití occasionally go on expeditions against the Tsirakua Indians (357).

357. Nord. 1, p. 171.

Law

Ce 671 177 178 Because the white authorities intervene more and more in the original, juridical traditions of the Chiriguano and Chané, many of them no longer exist today and also, from the few data which Nordenskiöld gives regarding this matter as of 30 years ago, many do not now correspond to the facts.

Ce 627 With regard to penal law, we find among these Indians a mixture between the principle of the "vendetta" and the practice of penal law. Among the Chané on the Parapití, most crimes, and robbery in particular, were settled by means of the duel. Ce [635] In the case of theft, the one who has stolen and the one who has been robbed appear, each with his relatives, in the town square to fight each other. Only homicide, the seduction of a woman, Ce 692 642 68 and sorcery were decided by the great cacique as judge. Homicide, which formerly occurred among the Chané in the form of poisoning with poisoned chicha ("bád dyási"), and sorcery were punished by the burning of the criminal. The seducer of a woman lost his property (358). According to statements of the substitute great

358. Nord. 1, p. 232.

cacique of the Chané on the Itiyuru, it was the principal obligation of the cacique to avoid the vendetta by sending criminals to another region so that they would not be killed. Thus thieves, after having received 50 lashes, were sent to another town. A murderer was condemned to work up to half a year for the family

Ce 692 643 28

/89 cont./
of the deceased (359).

359. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 421

Private property is highly respected among the Chiriguano. According to Métraux, even the closest relatives cannot make use of the property of one of them without his consent. The

C 423

possession of a piece of land is guaranteed to a Chiriguano by planting any plant on it or by clearing the circumference of the land required and making large slashes in the trees. When he selects a plot for his planting, the Chiriguano examines it carefully to determine that there are no traces of a previous planting (360).

360. Métraux 1, pp. 334 and 340.

C 241 476 [622]

After the land selected for the planting has been cleared, relatives and friends are called together to help with the work. Formerly, the cacique of the town also took part by keeping watch for the workers (361).

361. Métraux 1, p. 337.

/90/

Religion

C Ce 797 971 178 538

In their many years of activity the missions have naturally influenced notably the religious notions of the Chiriguano and Chané. Most of them today are Christians. Some still retain part of their primordial ideas, expressed in their legends. I shall limit myself here to referring the reader again to the Chané legends taken down by Nordenskiöld (362) and mentioned several times in the preceding.

362. Nord. 1, pp. 251-296.